THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN, Editor
EMMETT KILPATRICK, Co-Editor

Published by the

State Department

of

Archives and History

Vol. 13 Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4

1951

WETUMPKA PRINTING COMPANY
Printers and Publishers
Wetumpka, Alabama

CONTENTS

Alabama Indian Chief 5

Indian Wars in Alabama 92

Nameplaces affected by the Indian War of 1813-14 132

Indian Trading Houses 136

White Men Associated with Indian Life 140

The Government and Indian Affairs 155

Creek Indian War 1836-37 156

EDITORIAL

In order to bring the ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTER up to current date this issue is given the number of a Volume instead of one issue. From this time forward the Quarterlies will carry four issues a year making a full volume.

Volumes 12 and 13, are devoted to the history of Alabama Indians and the Editor believes will be of great interest to the readers as the present generation of Alabamians is lacking in knowledge on that subject. Of course, historians of the past, both National and State, have written very fully on the subject but the publications are all out of print. This issue carries biographical sketches of Alabama's Indian Chiefs and an account of Indian Wars that have taken place in the State. There are also a number of additional articles relating to the same subject to be found in the Contents. The articles in the main were written by the late Thomas M. Owen and are found in his four volume work entitled HISTORY OF ALABAMA AND DICTIONARY OF ALABAMA BIOGRAPHY.

INDIAN CHIEFS

(In 1844, Thomas L. McKenney, late of the Indian Department at Washington and James Hall, Esq., of Cincinnati, student of Indian character and life, prepared and published three volumes entitled "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," the work being published by Daniel Rice and James G. Clark, of Philadelphia, Pa. This set of Indian books is a very rare item in the collector's field but is of fundamental importance in a study of the life of the leaders among the Indians of North America. There are many sketches and portraits in the publication of Alabama Indians and some of the sketches presented herewith are attributed to that work as one of the sources of information.

Another source of Indian biography used here was the two volume book, "'Handbook of American Indians," issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, in 1907. Numerous Alabama historians have also written much on the subject. The sketches presented here unless otherwise indicated are taken from the four volume work of the late Thomas M. Owen, entitled, "History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography". Dr. Owen, with that meticulous integrity characteristic of the real historian and with boundless zeal for research work, cited the sources of his information at the end of each sketch. The student of Alabama history will observe that many of these Indian leaders were possessed of qualities of mind and character of the highest order, comparable to that of any other race. Others, whether by instinct or necessity, exhibited less admirable qualities at crucial moments, yet each and every one played his part in the early history of this State and should not be overlooked or forgotten. They are here presented in alphabetical order rather than in the order of their importance or the time of their appearance upon the scene in our history and the history of their own people. M.B.O.)

Aleck, Captain, or Captain Elcik, Creek Chief.—The few general facts of the early life of the Lower Creek chief, as given by himself, are that he hd lived so long among the white people that he looked upon himself as much a white man as a red man; that the white people had given him the name he bore, Captain Aleck, and that he had always lived in friendship with the English.

Apart from these statements, an evidence of Captain Aleck's association with white people is the letter A, the first letter of Aleck, which he adopted as his mark in signing his name. That Captain Aleck had always been a true friend of the English is borne out by all the recorded facts extant of his history. He showed his loyalty by his actions. The first notice of him is in 1754, when all things pointed to rupture between England and France and between England and Spain. On November 11, accompanied by a few followers, he called on Governor John Reynolds in council in Savannah and informed him that the French had persuaded some of the Upper Creeks to come to Mobile and receive presents, and the Spaniards had done likewise in persuading some of the Lower Creeks to come to Pensacola for the same purpose. That he had not yet learned the objects of the French and Spaniards in these matters, but if he succeeded in doing so, he would inform the Governor. Captain Aleck's talk agreed with the reports that had already come to the ears of the Governor that the French and Spaniards were very busy in endeavoring to win the Creeks over to their respective interests. Some presents were the next day presented to Captain Aleck and his followers, with which they were well pleased.

On May 11, 1757, Captain Aleck and his brother Will, accompanied by twelve men and women, had a talk with Governor Ellis in the council chamber in Savannah. After a conversation on several topics, the Governor told Captain Aleck that the Creeks should join no party to the prejudice of the English, to which Captain Aleck gave his full assent. The Governor then expatiated largely upon the cruelties of the French in all their proceedings, and instanced a recent attempt by them to induce the Choctaws and Cherokees to exterminate the Chickasaws, which attempt proceeded solely from this desire to get possession of the lands of the Chickasaws. That the Great King expected the Creeks to join the English and assist them in driving back the French, who were daily encroaching on the Indians' lands, and who, if they should grow stronger, would treat the Creeks as they had lately tried to treat the Chickasaws. On the contrary, the English had honestly paid for the lands which they got from the Indians. But the policy of the French was to become masters

of the Indians' lands, after murdering the Indian inhabitants; and their present designs were either to cut the Indians off entirely or to reduce them, their wives and children, to a state of slavery. The English, on the other hand, were a people fond of trade and sent their ships laden with merchandise to all parts of the world; that wherever they went, their study was to make people free and happy; and when they talked, their tongues and hearts went fast together; that the Great King showed the love he bore his red children by presents and by frequent and friendly talks.

The French too gave presents, but these presents, like the rum drank by the Indians, however sweet it might be at first, always made them sick in the end. After other remarks, by no means complimentary to the French, the Governor closed his talk by saying that every Indian who went to war against the French, should receive for every French scalp a reward equal in value to eight pounds of deer skins; and for a French prisoner a reward equal in value to sixteen pounds of deer skins, which he would much rather pay for than the scalps. For, although the English were known to be warriors, it was likewise known that they took no pleasure in shedding human blood. Captain Aleck in reply said that the Governor's talk was very true and just, that he had come down to hear a good talk and not for presents, and so was not disappointed; that his brother would set off to the nation in a few days, and there was a beloved day approaching and his brother there would declare this talk before all the people, and no one could say that he had never heard it. Captain Aleck then applied for a grant of a piece of land or small island on which he was settled, but as he could not satisfactorily give its location, the consideration of his request was postponed, but he was told that if the land was vacant, or if the proprietor of it would accept other land in its place, he should have a grant for it. This matter settled, the Governor invited Captain Aleck and his brother to dine with him.

Nothing further is on record about Captain Aleck until January, 1763, when he sought the good offices of Governor James Wright to recover his wife, who had been stolen from him by some Yuchee Indians and carried into the province of South

Carolina. Governor Wright wrote to Governor Boone of South Carolina desiring him to use every effort to securer the return of Captain Aleck's wife.

Captain Aleck was present as Speaker of the Upper and the Lower Creeks at the Great Congress in Augusta in November, 1763. On one occasion during the six days in which the Congress was in session he spoke of the frequent stealing of horses by white people and Indians and proposed that some means should be adopted to prevent it for the future. These words speak high for Captain Aleck's desire for peace and order on the frontier, the crime of horse stealing being promotive of frequent murders and killings by both white people and Indians, often culminating in wars. Captain Aleck also attended the Pensacola Congress in May, 1765. During its six days sessions he made several appropriate talks and was one of the signers of the treaty. A part of Captain Stuart's talk on May 30 to one of Captain Aleck's is here given as it bears witness to the moral worth of the Muscogee chief: "I am glad to find you in the same good disposition in which I left you at Augusta, of which you have given so many proofs, during the course of your life; the white people must always put a value on your friendship, as the Governor and I ever will. We are very sensible of the effect and influence your talks have had on your nation and we desire you may continue them." All the facts preserved in historic records, relative to Captain Aleck are favorable to his character as a man and a leader of his people.

The last historical notice of Captain Aleck occurs January 10, 1768. There having been a disagreement between the Georgians and the Creeks with regard to the boundary line which separated the two, on that day, Governor Wright and Captain Aleck, representing the Creek Confederacy, came to an agreement that the dividing line should "commence at the Ogeechee river where the lower trading path leading from Mount Pleasant on Savannah river to the Lower Creek Nation crosses the said river Ogeechee, and thence in a straight line cross the country to that part of the river Alatamaha opposite to the entrance or mouth of a certain Creek on the south side of the said river

Alatamaha commonly called Fen-hollow or Turkey Creek, and that the line should be thence continued from the mouth of the said Creek across the Country and in a southwest course to the St. Mary's river, so as to reach it as far up as the tide flows or swells."

Bibliography.—The Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. vii, pp. 33, 34, 566-569; *Ibid.* vol. IX, pp. 17, 18; *The Colonial State of North Carolina,* vol. XI, pp. 179, 184, 185, 188-190, 194, 203; *Mississippi Provincial Archives,* (1911), vol. I, pp. 190, 197, 198, 200, 203, 204, 207, 210; *Jones' History of Georgia,* vol. II, pp. 80, 81.

Barnard, Timpoochee, Yuchee chief, born about 1783 in the Creek Nation, died in about —— near Fort Mitchell in Alabama; was the son of Timothy Barnard, who was the son of Captain John, commanding a company of rangers in Georgia, dying in that colony about 1768. Captain John Barnard may have been of Scotch birth, as possibly may have been the case with his son Timothy, who was born, conjecturally, about 1750. Timothy Barnard evidently received a fair education. He was an officer in a company of rangers in Georgia in 1773, and in the same year was appointed justice of the peace with power to act on the lands, then recently ceded by the Creeks and Cherokees. He was also a trader among the Creeks and married a Yuchee woman, by whom he became the father of six sons and two daughters. The sons were James, who was a cripple, William, who married a daughter of Sullivan, an Indian trader. Timpoochee, Cuseene, who with his Indian wife emigrated to the Arkansas Territory, Michy and Buck. His daughters were Polly, who married Joe Marshall, and Matoya, who died single. Timothy Barnard was a *Royalist* during the American Revolution. His property was confiscated by the Georgia legislature and he himself was banished from the State. From the meager references attainable, he then made his home in the Creek Nation. It was perhaps about this time that his son Timpoochee was born. Timpoochee is merly an Indian corruption of Timothy. In February, 1785, probably

TEMPODCHEE BARNARD

A Yuchi born at the mouth of Uchee Creek in Russell County. He was an ally of the whites in the war of 1813-14 and signed the Fort Jackson Treaty, August 9, 1814.

through the influence of Captain Patrick Carr, Timothy Barnard was relieved from the penalty of treason and permitted to return to his former home, there to enjoy and possess every right of citizenship. Being now a thorough American, he was the deputy agent of the Lower Creeks in 1793 and 1794 and was one of the interpreters at the treaty of Coleraine in 1796. He died at an advanced age on Flint River, Georgia, the year not known. But little is known of the early life of Timpoochee Barnard. His mother carfully taught him to speak her native Yuchee dialect, while no doubt he learned much English from his father. Following the custom of his people, he also mastered the Muscogee dialect, as a knowledge of it was indispensable in the public and private life of the Creek people. Timpoochee Barnard first became prominent in General Floyd's campaign against th Creek Indians in January, 1814. He was commissioned major, and commanded one hundred Yuchee warriors. In the latter part of the night of January 27, the Creeks, in large force, made a furious attack on General Floyd's troops, who were encamped in Calebee swamp. Captain John Broadnax was in command of a detachment, stationed at some distance from the main army. The Creeks, discovering the isolation of the detachment, assailed it, surrounded it, and cut it off from the other troops. Major Barnard, taking in the situation, made a desperate onset on the Creeks with his Yuchee warriors, drove them back and so opened a way for Broadnax's men to join the main army. This heroic exploit gave Major Barnard a great name with the Americans. He continued to serve in the army with distinction until the close of the war. He was twice wounded. General Jackson, many years afterwards paid this high tribute to Major Barnard in a conversation with his son William: "A braver man than your father never lived." Major Barnard was present at the treaty of Fort Jackson, August 9, 1814, signing the treaty as "Captain of the Uchees." While no doubt a man of military instincts, Major Barnard was domestic in his habits and devotedly attached to his family. He had six children, two of them girls, and they all had the reputation of being the handsomest children in the Creek Nation. His son, William, received a fair education, and in after years served in the Seminole war of 1835 under Paddy Carr. The military career of

Major Barnard did not close with the Creek War. In 1818, in command of a band of Yuchee warriors, he served under his old commanded, General Jackson, through the Seminole War of that year. He distinguished himself in the fight of April 12, 1818, at Econaffinnah or Natural Bridge, where was rescued Mrs. Stuart, the only survivor of the massacre of Lieutenant Scott's party on Apalachicola River, of November 30, 1817. Major Barnard was opposed to the treaty of the Indian Springs, and was one of the delegation that went to Washington to protest against the validity of that treaty. After this event, he continued to reside his remaining years at his home near Fort Mitchell, blessed with all the wealth that was desirable, and noted for his public spirit, his hospitality and benevolence. Thus passed away a genuine man, that was an honor to the Indian race.

Bibliography.—McKenny and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1854), vol. II, pp. 25-28; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900) p. 585; White's *Historical Collections of Georgia* (1855) p. 166; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 54, 109; *Handbook of the American Indians* (1810), Part 2, p. 752.

Jim Boy, or Tustenaggee Emathla, was born about 1790 in the Creek Nation, the birth-place not known. Tustenuggee is the Creek term for "warrior;" Emathla is a war title, corresponding nearly to "disciplinarian." Nothing is known of Jim Boy's life prior to the outbreak of the Creek War of 1813, where Pickett calls him High Head Jim. He was chief of the Atossees, and commanded the hostile Creeks at the battle of Burnt Corn, fought March 27, 1813. It is not known in what other battles he was engaged during the war. After its close, he settled near Polecat Spring, and there built a little town called Thlopthlocco. In 1818 he served under General McIntosh against the Seminoles in Florida. During the Creek troubles of 1836, he attached himself to the friendly party. At the close of these troubles he was solicited by General Jessup to raise warriors for service against the Seminoles in Florida. He and Paddy Carr accordingly raised nine

TUSTENNUGGEE EMATHLA (JIM BOY)

A Creek Chief born in the present Macon County. A participant at Fort Mims; served in the war of 1813-14; in the uprising of 1836, and in the Florida War of 1837. He died in 1841 in the Western Creek Nation.

hundred and fifty warriors and with them reached the seat of war in September. Here the Creeks were organized into a regiment war in September. Here the Creeks were organized into a regi- ment and placed under the command of Major David Moniac. Jim Boy was with his rgiment in two battles and in a number of skirmishes in the Seminole war. The battles were the second battle of Wahoo Swamp, fought in November, 1836, and the battle of Lake Monroe, fought February 8, 1837. The Creeks fought courageously in both these engagements.

On his return from Florida, he found that his family had been removed west in the emigration of the Creeks, and that all his property in the nation had been destroyed. He had joined the army in Florida under a promise of the commending general that his family and property should be cared for, and that he should be remunerated for any loss he might sustain during his absence. This promise was not kept. But all this was a slight trouble compared to the death of four out of his nine children, who were of the two hundred and thirty-six Creeks that were lost in the sinking of the emigration steamboat, Mommouth.

Jim Boy's home in the Creek Nation west, was near Wetumpka, where he died in 1851. The name of his wife was Nihethoye. Rev. William Jim Boy, a well known Methodist minister in the Creek nation, is a grandson.

Jim Boy is described as a remarkably handsome man, full six feet high, perfectly formed and with a commanding air. The late Rev. John Brown of Daleville, Mississippi, who served in the Seminole War, states that on one occasion, at General Jessup's headquarters, he saw Jim Boy, clad in his full war dress, engaged in conversation with the general; that he was struck with Jim Boy's appearance, and with the fact that he was by far a finer looking man than General Jessup.

References–McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1842), vol. iii, 95, 96; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), pp. 521-524; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians,* pp. 91, 97, 98; Halbert and Ball's *Creek War,* pp. 125-132, 300-301; Drake's *Indians,* fifteenth edition, pp. 474, 476, 477, 479.

Big Warrior, Creek chief, was born probably at Tuckabatchee and about 1760. No facts have been preserved of his early life. His marriage to the deserted or discarded wife of Efa Hadjo, must have taken place about 1785, as Tuckenea, his oldest son by her, was a man of affairs in 1810. Big Warrior was not of full Muscogee blood, but was a descendant of a Piankashaw Indian, and he made no little boast of this northern Indian blood. His first recorded appearance in public life was at the treaty of Coleraine in June, 1796; his next appearance at the treaty of Fort Wilkinson in June, 1802. Thirteen days after this treaty, but on the treaty ground, Efa Hadjo, the speaker and first chief of the nation, abdicated his office to Micco Hopoie, and the place of the national council was transformed from Tuckabatchee to the Hickory Ground.

From the lack of records it cannot be stated in what year Big Warrior became Speaker of the Upper Creeks. It may have been in 1812, on the death of Efa Hadjo. On his attaining this office it seems that Tuckabatchee again became the national capital. In 1810, or thereabouts, a Scotchman from Pensacola came to Tuckabatchee and spent some time with Big Warrior, with whom he had many talks through a negro interpreter belonging to the Tuckabatchee chief. The topics of these conversations were never revealed, except that during his visit the Scotch man asked William Weatherford, who was then in Tuckabatchee, how many warriors the Creek nation could raise. Soon after the departure of the Scotchman, Tuskenea, Big Warrior's son, with a party went north and visited the Shawnees and some other tribes. He returned in the summer of 1811. In the fall of the year, Tecumseh at the head of a band of Shawnees came to Tuckabat-

chee. It is possible that the visit of the Scotchman to Tuckabatchee, and the visit of Tuskenea to the north, may have had some connection with the coming of Tecumseh. Soon after the Shawnees arrived at Tuckabatchee, the notable council took place, about which much has been written, some fact and some fiction. During his stay in the Creek nation, Tecumseh made several efforts to detatch Big Warrior from his friendly attitude towards the United States.

Some of Big Warriors contemporaries have represented him at the time of the outbreak of the Creek War, and even during its continuance, as being at heart unfriendly to the American government, and only adhered to it from a fear of the consequences, should he take the opposite side. This view was adopted by Pickett, the historian, but it does not seem to be borne out by a close study of Big Warrior's actions during those troubled times. The peace party among the Upper Creeks were greatly in the minority.

There were twenty-nine Upper Creek towns and villages that belonged to the war party and only five to the peace party. Notwithstanding this preponderating majority. Big Warrior, who, at this time was certainly the Speaker of the Upper Creeks, did all in his power to induce the hostile chiefs to come over to the side of the Federal Government. He sent a special messenger to the Alabamas, who were the most implacably hostile of all the Upper Creeks. But all of Big Warrior's efforts towards the pacification of the hostile element were of no avail from their point of view, since he had been mainly instrumental in the execution of Little Warrior and his party for the murders committed by them in February, 1813, near the mouth of Ohio. For using in this matter his executive authority, which was directed agreeably to the requirements of the treaty of Coleraine, Big Warrior, along with six other chiefs, was formally condemned to death by a council of the war party. By midsummer of 1813 this party had become so dangerous, that Big Warrior built for himself and followers a fort at Tuckabatchee, which he filled with supplies. Here he was besieged a number of days by the Red Sticks until two hundred warriors from Coweta came to his relief, and car-

ried Big Warrior and all his people safe to Coweta, which became the great place of refuge for the friendly Creeks. Big Warrior from the very beginning of the Creek troubles until his arrival at Coweta certainly conducted himself as a brave and honorable chief. Without fear or favor he cooperated in the execution of Little Warrior's party, and did his whole duty in attempting to pacify the large hostile element of his people. Lastly, we see him with his few faithful followers in their fort at Tuckabatchee besieged by their enraged countrymen, bravely holding the fort for weeks, with the full knowledge that should the fort fall no mercy would be extended to its inmates. A consideration of these facts show that historians have been unjust to the memory of Big Warrior. While he continued loyal to the Americans during the war, so far as the records show, he does not figure in any of the battles. Perhaps he was serving his people better by remaining with them at Coweta. Pickett represents him as being present at Weatherford's surrender.

Four months later, as Speaker of the Upper Creeks, he was one of the signers at Fort Jackson. Before signing the treaty Big Warrior made an address to General Jackson, in which, in the name of the Creek Nation, he tendered donations of land to him, to Colonel Hawkins, the Creek agent, and to George Mayfield and Alexander Cornells, Creek interpreters. Big Warrior was also a signer of the treaties of the Creek Agency, January 22, 1818, and of the treaty of Indian Spring, January 8, 1821.

Big Warrior died in 1824 in Washington while in attendance there with a delegation of his people. General Woodward describes Big Warrior as the largest man that he had ever seen among the Creeks and as spotted as a leopard. The name of only two of his children, both sons, Tuskenea and Yargee, have been preserved. As an incident in the career of Big Warrior, may be cited,–his conversation in 1822, with the Missionary, Rev. Lee Compere, in which, in giving the traditional history of the Creeks, he stated that in remote times they "had even whipped the Indians then living in the territory of South Carolina and wrested much of their country from them." Modern philological research has confirmed this tradition of Big Warrior as being true

history; for the local names of the parts of South Carolina, traversed by the Del Pardo expedition of 1567, and recorded by its historians are significant in the Muscogee tongue, showing a Muscogee occupancy of these parts. Hence, apart from being a wise Creek counsellor, Big Warrior should be accorded some reputation as a man thoroughly and patriotically conversant with the traditional history of his people.

Bibliography.—Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), pp. 80, 514, 518, 520, 593, 599, 618, 621; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 36, 37, 44, 94, 95, 96, 110, 116; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. I, pp. 837-845, 848, 849, 851; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, pp. 755, 762; American State Papers, *Military Affairs*, vol. I, p. 699; Brewer's *Alabama* (——), p. 17, footnote.

Died, on the 8th inst. at Washington City, Big Warrior, principal chief of the Creek nation. He was a man of great talents as a savage warrior—a person of immense bodily powers, and it has been said of him that he was endowed with a mind as colossal as his body. Although he possessed not the advantages of education, or even of understanding but little of the English language, yet he has done much towards improving the condition of his people, and had great influence over them. During the late Indian wars, he had been uniformily friendly to the whites and fought for them in many battles.—(From Nile's Register, March 19, 1825.)

Colbert, William, Chickaksaw Indian chief, was a native Alabamian and Revolutionary soldier, serving under Gen. Arthur St. Clair and leading his tribe against the hostile Indians, who operated with the British. In the War of 1812, he again led his tribe against the Creeks, pursuing them to Apalachicolo, Fla., killing a number and bringing eighty-five prisoners back to Montgomery. He was, in 1816, the guest of the U. S. government at Washington, going there at the head of a Chickasaw delega-

tion and being called "General" Colbert. He settled at Colbert's Ferry, on the Tennessee River, and the county laid off there was named in his honor. His sons were George, who owned the Ferry; Levi, who settled on Bear Creek, and James, who farmed in Colbert County. They went to the Indian Territory with the remnant of their tribe. One Herbert Colbert, afterwards, was the representative of the Chickasaw nation in congress.

Efa Hadjo, Efau Haujo, or Mad Dog, Creek Chief.—It would be an interesting fact, if it could be proven, that the Effa Adjo who signed the treaty made by the English and Creeks in June, 1765, at Pensacola, was the same man as Efa Hadjo, who was in after times so long the speaker of the Creek Nation. Be the fact as it may, the first notice of Efa Hadjo or Mad Dog in April 1792, shows him a partisan of the adventurer Bowles. Many of the ignorant Creeks at that time supposed that Bowles represented the English government, and that England, France and Spain were opposed to the Americans. A year later, however, in April, 1793, found Efa Hadjo Hadjo a decided friend of the Americans. Alexander Cornell in a letter to James Seagrove, the Creek agent, in April, 1893, writes: "If every man should exert himself as well as the Mad Dog, and the headmen of the Upper towns, and Mr. Weatherford, we should have an everlasting peace with our brothers of the United States." From the lack of records, it cannot be stated when Efa Hadjo became the speaker of the Creek Nation. He did not hold this office at the treaty of Coleraine in June, 1796, though he was one of the signers of the treaty. Fusatchee Mico, the Whitebird King of the Hickory Ground, was the speaker at Coleraine. Efa Hadjo was the speaker of the Creek Nation at the treaty of Fort Wilkinson in 1802. He also at the same time was speaker of the Upper Creeks, with Coweta Micco, as speaker of the Lower Creeks. His several talks at this treaty were all sensible and relevant to the subjects under consideration. Twelve days after the treaty Efa Hadjo abdicated his station as speaker and first chief of the nation to Hopoie Micco and transferred the seat of the National Councils from Tuckabatchee to the Hickory Ground. He was at this time, as he stated, "getting

in age." The action of Efa Hadjo was either of short duration or was not accepted by the Nation, as can be seen from Colonel Hawkins' notice of the chief in 1799.

"This (Tuckabatchee) is the residence of Efan Hanjo, one of the great medal chiefs, the speaker of the Nation at the National Council. He is one of the best informed men of the land, and faithful to his National engagements. He has five black slaves, and a stock of cattle and horses; but they are of little use to him; the ancient habits instilled in him by French and British agents, that red chiefs are to live on presents from their white friends, is so riveted that he claims it as a tribute due to him, and one that never must be dispensed with."

Efa Hadjo died in Tuckabatchee in 1812.

References.—American State Papers. *Indian Affairs*, vol. I, pp. 297, 367, 382, 383, 385, 390, 396, 424, 461, 670, 672-681, 840; *Hawkins' Sketch of the Creek Country*, p. 30.

Francis, Josiah, or Hillis Hadjo, Creek Chief, born probably about 1770, and in Autauga town, was the son of David Francis a white trader and silversmith, who lived many years in Autauga Town, and made silver ornaments and implements for the Indians. The name of his mother is not known, and apart from his father, the only other fact recorded as to his family relationship is that he was a half-brother of Sam Moniac. Hillis Hadjo, properly spelled Hilis Hadsho, is the name of an official of he Creek busk; "hilis," medicine, "hadsho," crazy. Some corrupt spellings of the name are Hidlis Hadjo, Hillishago, Hillishager, etc. In his youth Josiah Francis learned the silversmith trade of his father. The first recorded public fact of his life is being created a prophet, which was about the latter part of 1812. It took Sukaboo, the great Shawnee prophet, ten days' work to endow Francis with prophetic powers. When this was completed, Francis was considered the greatest prophet in the Creek Nation. He himself now assumed the role of prophet-maker. He made many prophets,

among others, Jim Boy of Atossee. In June, 1813, just before the outbreak of the Creek War, General James Wilkinson of the United States Army, noted the presence of Francis, with a large number of followers, camped at or near the Holy Ground on the Alabama River, evidently making preparations for a war of destruction upon the white and the half-breed Indian settlements in South Alabama. For the purpose of procuring ammunition for the oncoming war, early in July, Josiah Francis, commanding the Alabama, Peter McQueen at the head of the Tallassee warriors, and Jim as principal-war chief, commanding the Atossees, with many packhorses took up the line of march from the Holy Ground for Pensacola. They were successful in attaining their object, and on their return march, while encamped on Burnt Corn Creek, they were attacked, on July 27, by a body of Americans, under Colonel James Coller, and there was fought what is known as the battle of Burnt Corn. The victory was with the Creeks. This fact and the loss of American prestige in their defeat, no doubt, prompted the Creeks to begin the war on a larger scale. About the middle of August a great Creek council was held at the Holy Ground. After much debate and deliberation, it was resolved by the council to divide the Creek forces into two divisions, and with each to make simultaneous attacks on Fort Mims and Fort Sinquefield. Hopie Tustenuggee commanded the larger division that was to assult Fort Mims, while Josiah Francis with one hundred and twenty-five warriors was to operate against Fort Sinquefield. On the night of August 30, Francis and his warriors camped in the Wolf's Den, a large deep ravine three miles east of Fort Madison. Thence, the next day, they moved northward and massacred twelve members of the James and Kimble families, living on Bassett's creek. The bodies of the dead were, the next day, brought to Fort Sinquefield for burial by a party sent out for that purpose. The day following, September 2, about eleven o'clock, a part of the people were out of the fort engaged in the burial, and a number of the women were at the spring, some engaged in washing, and others who had come to bring buckets of water back to their families in the fort. The time was propitious for Francis and his warriars, who were advancing in a stooping position to cut off the burial party and the

women at the spring. The Creeks were discovered in time, and all, with one exception, made their escape into the fort, upon which a furious attack was made. After two hours' fighting, Francis was repulsed with the loss of eleven warriors and many wounded. He then retreated across the Alabama River, where several of the wounded died. There is no record of Josiah Francis in other engagements of the Creek War. After the defeat at the Horseshoe, he and Nehemathla Micco placed their people on the Catoma, not far above the Federal crossing. But they remained there a very short time, for General Jackson writing from Fort Jackson on April 18, states "Hillishagee, their great prophet, has absconded." Francis and his refugee people founded a town near Fort St. Marks, in Florida. Early in 1815 Colonel Edward Nichols negotiated a treaty with the fugutive Creeks and the Seminoles. This treaty was an offensive and defensive alliance between the English government and the Indians, and through it the Creeks in Florida were led to believe that they would secure the restitution of the lands ceded by the treaty of Fort Jackson. Early in the summer following Nichols sailed for London, taking with him Francis and other Indians, Creeks and Seminoles. Nichols hoped that his treaty would be ratified by the British Foreign Office, but it refused to receive him or even listen to his proposals. While Colonel Nichols' treaty was thus ignored by the English government, his friend Francis was treated with much distinction. He was created a colonel in the British army (colonial establishment), with a full uniform; was presented with a diamond-studded snuff box, a gold-mounted tomahawk, five hundred pounds in gold, and some jewels for his daughters. He was admitted to an interview with the Prince Regent which is thus described by a London Journal: "The sound of trumpets announced the approach of the patriot Francis, who fought so gloriously in our cause in America during the late war. Being dressed in a most splendid suit of red and gold, and wearing a tomahawk set with gold gave him a highly imposing appearance." Francis and the other Indians were sent back to Florida in 1816, by the English government in a sloop of war. It would have been well for Francis had he been content with the honor and glory which he had now received from the English government and had made peace with the Americans. But the old war spirit was too

strong and the close of 1817 found him inciting the refugee Creeks and the Seminoles to war. About this time, an American soldier, named Duncan McKrimmon, was captured by the Indians near Fowl Town. He was taken by his captors to Francis' town, delivered to the chief, who sentenced him to death by the torture, in retaliation for the killing of four Indians by the Americans in their attack on Fowl Town. But McKimmon's life was saved through the entreaties of Francis' daughter, Malee. (This name is incorrectly given in some books as Milly. Malee is the Indian imperfect articulation of Mary, there being no r in the Choctaw Muscogee dialects, l being used or substituted in its place.) In the following April, Francis and Nehemathla Micco were captured, and without the formality of a trial, General Jackson ordered both to be hanged. Nehemathla Micco was justly put to death on the charge of torturing his prisoner, Lieutenant Scott, to death. But it may be questioned whether Francis ought to have been executed on the two charges brought against him,—complicity in the massacres during the Creek War, and for inciting the refugee Creeks to war. As to the first charge, Francis was no more guilty than other Creeks for massacres during the war and whom Gen. Jackson did not punish. As to the other charge, it may be said that he was not a party to the treaty of Fort Jackson, of August, 1814, a treaty not recognized by the Creeks in Florida. Hence from his point of view he had the right to renew or continue the struggle of the Creeks against the Americans in Florida. Francis is described by an officer of Jackson's army as "a handsome man, six feet high; would weigh one hundred and fifty pounds; of pleasing manners; conversed well in English and Spanish; humane in his disposition; by no means barbarous—withal a model chief." Accepting as true this favorable account of Francis' character, it may be inferred that, while he himself was adverse to needless barbarity in war, he was unable to control his warriors, as in the case of the Kimball-James Massacre and the killing of Mr. Philips at Fort Sinquefield. Francis was survived by his wife and several daughters. His wife was a half-blood, her name not recorded, and said to be a half-sister of William Weatherford. Of his daughters, the name of the youngest, Malee, incorrectly given by some as Milly, has been preserved, and ever will be remembered for the romance, tragedy,

and pathos connected with it. The story of this Alabama-born girl, her beauty, her accomplishments, her saving the life of McKrimmon, her grief over the execution of her father, her marriage to McKrimmon, her subsequent life,—all surpass in interest the somewhat apocryphal story of the Virginia-born Pocahontas.

References.—Meek's Romantic Passages in Southern History (1857), p. 271; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's edition, 1900), pp. 514, 515, 521, 544; Woodward's *Reminiscenses of the Creek or Muscogee Indians,* 1857, pp. 43, 53, 97; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs,* vol. i, pp. 850, 853; American State Papers, *Military Affairs,* vol. i, pp. 700, 745; Buell's *History of Jackson* (1904), vol. ii, pp. 122-125; Parton's *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. ii, pp. 395, 397, 415, 420, 431, 437, 455, 457; Halbert and Ball's *Creek War* (1895), pp. 184, 185, 197, 198; *Handbook of American Indians* (1911), Part i, pp. 549, 550; Claiborne's *Mississippi* (1800), p. 323.

MILLY, DAUGHTER OF HILLIS HADJO[1]

We have already commented on the beautiful display of feminine loveliness in the character of Pocahontas; but that instance is not without a parallel. We quote the following incident from the Baltimore American:—

"The committee on Indian Affairs, in the late House of Representatives, reported a bill allowing a pension for life to Milly, an Indian woman, of the Creek tribe, daughter of the celebrated prophet and chief Francis, who was executed, by order of General Jackson, in the Seminole war of 1817-18. The subject was brought to the notice of the committee by the Secretary of War, in the instance of Lieut. Col. Hitchcock, who communicated the particulars of the incident upon which the recommendation of the favour of the government was founded.

---

[1]From "History of the Indian Tribes of North America", by McKenney & Hall, pp. 193-194.

"Milly, at the age of sixteen, when her nation was at war with the United States, and her father was one of the most decided and indefatigable enemies of the white people, saved the life of an American citizen, who had been taken prisioner by her tribe. The captive was bound to a tree, and the savage warriors, with their rifles, were dancing around him, preparatory to putting him to death. The young Indian girl, filled with pity for the devoted prisoner, besought her father to spare him; but the chief declined to interfere, saying that the life of the prisoner was in the hands of his captors, whose right it was to put him to death. She then turned to the warriors, and implored them to forbear their deadly purpose. But she was repulsed; and one of them, much enraged, told her that he had lost two sisters in the war, and the prisoner must die. Her intercession, however, continued. She perservered in entreaties, and used all the arts of persuasion which her woman's nature suggested; and finally succeeded in saving his life, on condition that the young white man should adopt the Indian dress, and become one of the tribe.

"It appears from the information communicated by Col. Hitchcock, that sometime after this event the white man sought his benefactress in marriage, but she declined, and subsequently married one of her own people. Her husband is now dead. Her father was put to death in the war of 1817-18, and her mother and sister have since died. She is now friendless and poor, residing among her people in their new country, near the mouth of Verdigris river. She has three children (a boy and two girls), all too young to provide for themselves, and consequently dependent upon their mother for support.

The committee thought that the occasion presented by this case was a suitable one, not only to reward a meritorious act, but also to show the Indian tribes how mercy and humanity are appreciated by the government. The grant of a pension, with a clear exposition of the grounds of its allowance, would have a salutary influence, it was believed, upon savage customs in future. A bill was accordingly reported, to allow to Milly a pension of ninty-six dollars per annum, or eight dollars per month, for life."

Gun Merchant, Creek chief.—This chief of Okchaiyi first came into prominence after the massacre of the traders on March 14, 1760. Twelve days after this affair, while staying at Muklasa, he, in the name of the headmen of the Upper Creeks and some refugee traders present, sent a talk to Governor Ellis in which he expressed the hope that the Governor would not think that this affair was a concerted plot of the nation in general, that if it had been a concerted affair, not a single trader would have ever got to his own country; that the traders present knew what uneasiness it gave the Indians; and he wished the Governor to believe that the Indians had no malice in their hearts, and their only wish was that a good understanding and friendship might be renewed with the white people. The deeds were done by a few young men and the headmen were not privy to it, and he hoped that traders would be allowed to return to the Nation.

The Governor sent a talk in reply in which he stated the Creeks must inflict capital punishment on the murderers, and that the trade would be renewed when it was safe to do so, but that first the Creeks in every town must select some powerful person to take charge of the traders and their goods; otherwise no traders would venture their persons and goods among them; and the traders must pay a yearly consideration to these guardians. Some weeks after the Governor sent another talk into the Nation. Gun Merchant was at Okfusky when the talk came there. He commented on it largely as a good talk and that they ought to quench the fire while in their power to do so. At his suggestion, the Indians went forth, gathered up the bones of the traders, wrapped them in white deer skins and buried them. Another evidence of Gun Merchant's fair dealing occurred early in 1761. The store of a trader named Henderson among the Upper Creeks was robbed. This coming to the ears of Gun Merchant, he interposed to prevent further mischief, and at the same time took two traders and their goods under his protection. Governor Wright was so appreciative of this action that he sent a special talk to Gun Merchant. But the obligations of the traders and their guardians were not altogether well observed. Gun Merchant in a talk of April 30, which he sent to Governor Wright, says: "There was a Man appointed to look after the Traders in each town—

some performed it, others did not, and that the said Headmen were to be paid for their Trouble; this Talk was given out last year by Joseph Wright from Governor Ellis; but we see no Rewards for it yet; there are others that go Guards to the Pack Horses and get nothing for this Trouble, which make the Young People indifferent of going down."

Gun Merchant was one of the four great medal chiefs of the Upper Creeks created at the Congress in Pensacola in June, 1765. After this there is no further record relating to his career.

References.—The Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. viii, pp. 325, 348, 421, 423, 514, 543, 544; *Mississippi Provincial Archives,* vol. 1, p. 210.

Isaacs, Captain of Tourcoula, Coosada chief, born conjecturally about 1765. He received his English name from an Indian trader, who died at an advanced age in Lincoln county, Tennessee. No facts are preserved of his life, until 1792, when he was one of the Creek chiefs that were in the habit of making raids upon the Cumberland settlers in Tennessee. On August 21, 1793, he and his party murdered a Mrs. Baker, a widow, and all her family except a daughter, named Elizabeth. They brought her to Coosada, where she was forced to be an eye-witness of the dance around the scalps of her family. But she was soon fortunate in finding a friend in the noted trader, Charles Weatherford, who lived on the east side of the Alabama River, opposite Coosada. He ransomed her, placed her in charge of his wife, where she remained until restored to her friends. After the treaty of Coleraine, made in 1796, Captain Issacs became a friend to the United States. He was the only chief at the great Council held at Tuckabatchee in the fall of 1811, that refused to take the talk of Tecumseh. General Woodward very erroneously states that Captain Issacs went north with Tecumseh and that on his way back home, he was associated with Little Warrior in the murders committed in February, 1813, near the mouth of the Ohio. Official records show that Captain Issacs never went north with Tecum-

seh, nor afterwards to Tecumseh, and that he had nothing to do with those murders, living in all those times at his home in the Nation. Furthermore, from his persistent loyalty to the whites, he was one of the seven prominent chiefs whose deaths had been decreed by the hostile faction in the early summer of 1813. Captain Issacs met his fate in June, himself, a nephew and three of his warriors, being killed at the same time by the Red Sticks. His wife was a daughter of General McGillivray, but apart from this, there is no further record of his family.

References.—Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), pp. 425, 512, 519; *American State Papers,* Indian Affairs, vol. i, p. 487; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 36, 37.

Ledagi.—An Upper Creek Chief who was later associated with the Trading Post at Jacksonville, the County seat of Benton, now Calhoun County. This man was a signer of the 1832 Cession Treaty and was made an allotment under that agreement. A marker in the town square at Jacksonville is to his memory.

Little Prince, or *Tustenuggee Hopqui, Creek chief.*—History and tradition are both utterly silent as to the early life of this chief, who lived at Broken Arrow and was for many years speaker of the Lower Creeks. The first notice of him is in 1780. In the spring or summer of this year, the Indian Agent, John Tate, who was stationed at the Hickory Ground, raised a large number of warriors, for the British service from all the Upper Creek towns, except from the Tallassees and the Natchez, and with them marched to the Creek towns on the Chattahoochee. Here he was reinforced by a band of Lower Creeks under Little Prince. The combined Indian forces, all under the command of Tate, began their march to Augusta to the aid of Colonel Thomas Brown, in command of that post. Near the head springs of Upatoy creek, *Tate* became deranged, was brought back to Coweta, where he died and was buried. After his death, all the Upper

LEDAGIE

A Creek Chief who resided in the present Calhoun County, Alagama region. A commemmorative marker to this man is at Jacksonville.

Creeks returned except the Tuckabachees under Efa Tustenuggee, or Davy Cornells. He and Little Prince resumed the march with their warriors, numbering two hundred and fifty, arrived at Augusta and were there when the place was besieged by Colonel Elijah Clark. In the fighting that ensued, the Creeks lost seventy men,—a loss showing the high grade of their fighting qualities. After the abandonment of the siege and the retreat of the Americans, Colonel Brown first hung some of the most prominent Americans and then delivered the remainder into the hands of the Indians, who, in revenge for their slain warriors, put them to the most torturing and protracted deaths, by cuts, blows, scalpings and burnings. The memories of Colonels Brown and Grierson, the commanding officers of the post, justly deserve to be held in eternal opprobium for these enormous atrocities. Those familiar with Indian character and history know that the chief has but little real control over his warriors. What he accomplishes is mainly by dint of persuasion. How much Little Prince favored or disapproved of the actions of his warriors at Augusta cannot be known. But one can indulge in no charitable conjecture in regard to his colleague, Efa Tustenuggee, who is described by General Woodward as being 'the most hostile and bitter enemy the white people ever had."

So far as known, the Augusta campaign was the only military service ever performed by Little Prince. He was one of the signers of the treaty of *Coleraine in* 1796. He ever after continued friendly to the American government. He was too old for military service during the Creek War of 1813, but was active in sending his warriors into the field. And for his share in the execution of Little Warrior and his party in the spring of 1813, he was one of the seven chiefs formally condemned to death by the war party. He continued to be the head chief of the nation and speaker of the lower towns until his death in 1832. His grave is yet pointed out on Broken Arrow creek.

References.—American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. i, pp. 845, 849, 857; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. ii, pp. 839, 840; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), pp. 519; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Mus-*

cogee Indians, pp. 35, 59; McCrady's *History of South Carolina*, 1775-1780, pp. 734-739; Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 2, pp. 455-459.

George Lowery.—A cousin of Sequoyah and second chief of the eastern Cherokees under John Ross, commonly known as Major Lowrey. His native name was Agili (he is rising) possibly a contraction of an old personal name Agin-Agio-li. He joined Ross in steadily opposing all attempts to force his people to move from their eastern lands and later after this had been accomplished he was chief of a council of the eastern Cherokees at the meeting held in 1839 to fuse the eastern and western divisions into the present Cherokee Nation.

(See Handbook of American Indians, Part I, pp. 770.)

Malatchee, Malahchee or Malachi, Creek chief, born about 1711, as in May, 1740, he claimed to be nearly thirty years old, was the son of Bream of Coweta, the head chief of the Muscogees. Bream had an elder son, named Auletta, who, in July, 1721, went to Charleston to hold a talk with Governor Nicholson, and to make up their differences. Malatchee was still a youth at the time of the death of Bream, his father. The chief power was then put into the hands of Chigillie, Chickeley or Chikilee, apparently a brother of Bream, until Malatchee should arrive at years of maturity. In 1736 a school for the instruction of Creek children, under the charge of the Rev. Benjamin Ingram, was established on the Savannah River, near the town of Tomochichi. Chikelee and Malatchee visited the school, and became much interested in it, Malatchee saying that if he had twenty children he would have them all taught. This was a remarkable statement for an untutored Indian chief of that day, and shows that Malatchee was a man of very advanced ideas, far beyond most of his contemporaries. In the meantime, the young Malatchee had so signalized himself as a warrior, that he was looked upon as the

greatest man in the Creek Nation. He was one of the party that concluded a treaty with General Oglethorpe, August 1, 1739, his uncle, Chigillie, being the principal. Ever after this treaty, Malatchee enjoyed the favor of General Oglethorpe, for just prior to his Florida Campaign, he ordered a number of presents to be given to him, among these a scarlet coat. Malatchee, in May, 1740, joined General Oglethorpe in his expedition against the Spaniards, and, it seems, was present at the siege of San Augustine. A contempory has left a sketch of him as he appeared at this period of his life: "His ability, as well as his good will to the English, is not to be questioned; so his person is very engaging; his stature is but little short of six feet, his make clean, and perfectly shaped from head to foot, as he appears when naked to the skin; and when he puts on a coat and hat, his behavior is such, that one would rather image from his complaisance, he had been bred in some European court, than among barbarians. At the same time, though the features of his face are interesting, and show tokens of good nature, yet there is something in his aspect which demands awe." In December, 1747, Malatchee, with sixteen chiefs of various towns of the Creek Confederacy, chanced to be on a visit to Frederica. He was then and there persuaded by the notorious Bosomworth to have himself acknowledged as the head or emperor of the Creek Nation, with full power to cede land, conclude treaties, and transact any other business connected with the royal administration of the affairs of his people. Malatchee was at once proclaimed and saluted Supreme Chief of the Creek Nation. A document setting forth this act was immediately prepared by Bosomworth, signed by the chiefs and attested by some Englishmen present. Malatchee requested that a copy should be sent to the King of England and that due record should be made of the original. Bosomworth's object in this matter, and its unpleasant results, are fully given by Colonel C. C. Jones in his History of Georgia. In 1752 the Creeks had a quarrel with the Cherokees, in whch the former committed some outrages, among others scalping an English trader. On Governor Glen's demand for satisfaction, Malatchee with a hundred warriors visited Charleston. After a talk by the Governor, Malatchee made a talk in which he apologized for the conduct of the Creeks, and the whole affair was satisfactorily adjusted. Malat-

chee's talk has been preserved by Hewatt, the South Carolina historian. On the fifth day of November, 1754, six days after he was inducted into the office as Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Georgia, Governor John Reynolds sent a talk to Malatchee in which he assured him that he would use every means to preserve the good understanding that then existed between the King's subjects of Georgia and the Creek Nation. That it would be a very great measure to him to have an opportunity of shaking hands with him, and talking with him face to face. That he would notify him when it would be proper for him to come to Savannah, where he would be able to give him a further testimony of his love and friendship. "In the meantime, I wish you, your wives and children health and prosperity, assuring you that I am your loving friend and brother."

Malatchee died in 1755. This date is based upon a statement made by his son Togoulki or Thougoulskie (the Young Twin), at the Augusta Congress of 1763, that his father had been dead eight years. This fixes 1755 as the year of his death. The American Indians, from time immemorial, universally held to the custom of burying all movable property in the grave with the deceased. After long persuation by the traders, the Cherokees, by the middle of the eighteenth century, had, in a great measure, given up this custom. Malatchee, whether influenced by white people, or whether it was the result of his own thinking, certainly had advanced ideas on this subject. Adair writes: "Except the Cherokee, only one instance of deviation, from this ancient and general Indian custom occurs to me: which was that of Malahche, the late famous chieftain of the Kowwetah wartown of the lower part of the Muskogee counry, who bequeathed all he possessed to his real, and adopted relations,—being sensible they would be much more useful to his living friends, than to himself during his long sleep: he displayed a genius far superior to the crowd." Malatchee was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son, Tougulki, or as frequently known, "Young Twin." For a few years before actually assuming the office, Tougoulki's uncle, Sampiaffi, acted as his guardian.

References.—Year Book of Charleston, S. C. (1894), p. 339; *The Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. 4, pp. 565, 566, 567; Adair's *American Indians* (1775), p. 178; Hewett's *History of South Carolina,* vol. i, pp. 173-178; Jones' *History of Georgia,* vol. i, pp. 327-331, 392, 399; *The Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. 7, p. 24; *Ibid,* vol. 21, p. 22.

McIntosh, Chilly.—A Creek chief. After his brother, William, was slain by Menewa for having betrayed the Creeks by "selling the graves of their ancestors," he became the head of the minority party that acquiesced in the proposed emigration to Indian Ter. As such he frequently visited Washington to treat with officials regarding the transfer of lands and acquitted himself as a capable man of business.—Stanley, Portraits Am. Inds., 13, 1852.

(Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 781.)

McGillivray, Alexander, diplomat and merchant, was born probably at Fort Toulouse, or in the town of Taskigi, one half mile below the fort, and died February 17, 1793, at Pensacola, Fla.; son of Lachlan and Sehoy (Marchand) McGillivray, the former a native of Dunmaglass, Scotland, who, at the age of sixteen, came to the Carolinas, joined a party of Indian traders, is first known as an Indian trader on the Chattahoochee River, probably at Coweta, in 1735, who after the Revolution embarked for his native land, leaving his wife and children, his plantation and worldly possessions, in the hopes that they might be allowed to fall into their possession, but all of his property was seized and they were left in destitute circumstances, the latter a half breed Creek woman; grandson of Captain Marchand and wife, a full blood Creek woman of the Wind Tribe, the former was killed at Fort Toulouse in 1722. Alexander McGillivray was educated at Charleston, S. C. In 1784 he was known as the emperor of the Creeks and Seminoles and negrotiated the treaty with Spain at Pensacola. He visited President Washington at New York in 1790

and was appointed agent of the United States, with rank of brigadier-general. Shortly afterwards the King of Spain appointed him superintendent general of the Creek Nation for Spain. At the same time he was a member of the firm of Panton's, merchants of Pensacola. His principal residence was at Little Talasi, five miles above the present site of Wetumpka on the Coosa River, on what is now known as the Rose plantation. His plantation on Little River was known as "Cowpen" and still another was at Hickory Ground, on the left bank of the Coosa two miles above Fort Toulouse, and below the present site of Wetumpka. He had three wives and left three children, Alexander, Jr., and two daughters. Last residence: Little Talasi, on the Coosa River.

McQueen, Peter, Creek chief, born probably 1780, and on Line Creek in Montgomery County, Alabama, was the son of James McQueen and a Tallassee woman. James McQueen was a Scotchman, born, it is said in 1683, deserted from a British vessel at St. Ausgustine in 1710, went to the Creek Nation and died there in 1711, at the great age of one hundred and twenty-eight years. There are no facts on record as to the early life of Peter McQueen. It was evidently only a few years before the Creek War that he married Betsy Durant, a daughter of Benjamin and Sophia (McGillivray) Durant, who was a daughter of Lachlan McGillivray. It is not improbable that his marriage into a wealthy and influential family had much to do with his becoming the chief of the Tallisses. McQueen at this time was a wealthy man for an Indian, owning many negroes and much stock. He was a man of integrity and lived on good terms with the American officials and other white people. Like many other half-breeds, though the influence brought to bear upon him from English and Spanish sources, he joined the hostile faction in 1813, and became one of the mist prominent Red Stick leaders during the Creek war. McQueen commanded the large band of Indians that went to Pensacola in July, 1813, for supplies of ammunition to be used in the contemplated war against the Americans. On their return march, while encamped, July 27, 1813, on Burnt Corn creek, they were

attacked by an American force under Colonel Caller, and what is known as the battle of Burnt Corn took place, in which the Creeks were the victors. After the return of McQueen's party, at some undetermined place, in accordance with the Indian method of keeping the exact day of an appointment, twenty short broken sticks, about six inches long, the sticks representing twenty days, were given to each warrior, one stick to be thrown away every day, and on the last day, when the last stick was thrown away, the warrior was to make his appearance at the rendezvous. In this case, the rendezvous was the Holy Ground. Here in council assembled, the Creek warriors at first resolved to march to Coweta, destroy the town and people, as here was the home and rallying place of all the friendly Creeks. But the families of the killed and wounded at Burnt Corn forced the council to change Coweta to Fort Mims, as it contained many of their white and half-breed antagonists at Burnt Corn, and to some fort in the fork of the Tombigbee and Alabama. Fort Mims was accordingly unanimously selected, and after twenty days' discussion, Fort Sinquefield was the fort selected in the fork. McQueen was a prominent chief at the massacre of Fort Mims. He seems not to have been present at the battle of the Horse-Shoe. After this defeat, he and his two brothers-in-law, John and Sandy Durant, placed themselves for a short time with their people on the headwaters of Line Creek. Thence they went to Florida. Owing to the confusion of the times, McQueen left his negroes in the Creek Nation, which were unjustly appropriated by some half-bloods, that were American partisans. He afterwards made a vain effort to have them sent to him in Florida. With these grievances it could hardly be otherwise that McQueen was by no means averse to reviving the war. General Thomas Woodward writes of meeting him and Josiah Francis at Fort Hawkins near the close of 1817. The two chiefs were there trading and their meeting with their old acquaintance, Woodward, was entirely friendly. Very soon after this, the fugitive Creeks and Seminoles were at open war against the Americans, and Peter McQueen was recognized as the head leader. The war of 1818 in Florida known in history as the first Seminole war, was fought almost solely by the friendly Indians under General William McIntosh against the Red Stick Creeks and Seminoles under Peter McQueen. There

was very little fighting done by the Americans. The most notable fight was on April 12, 1818, at Econfinnah, in which McQueen was defeated with the loss of thirty-seven men killed, and six men and ninety-seven women and children captured; add to these a number of horses and about five hundred head of cattle. McIntosh's loss was three men killed and four wounded. At the close of the Florida war McQueen took refuge on a barren island, on the Atlantic side of Cape Florida, where he soon after died. After his death his widow returned to the Creek Nation and married Willy McQueen, a nephew of Peter, and became the mother of two daughters, Sophis and Muscogee, and two or three sons. Her children by Peter were a son, James, and three daughters, Milly (Malee), Nancy and Tallassee.

References.—Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), 517, 521; Meek's *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (1854), pp. 544, 547; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs,* vol. i, pp. 847, 849, 851, 852, 857; American State Papers, *Military Affairs,* vol. i, pp, 682, 683, 700, 749; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians* (1857), pp. 9, 21, 25, 42, 44, 48, 97, 110, 153; Parton's *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. ii, pp. 447, 449; Buell's *History of Jackson* (1894), vol. ii, pp. 127; Halbert and Ball's *Creek War* (1895), pp. 125-149.

McIntosh, William, Creek chief, born at Coweta, Creek nation, probably about 1775, was the son of Captain William McIntosh, of the British army and a full blood Creek woman. Nothing is known of his early life, only it may be inferred from the fair education which he had acquired and his proficiency in the English language that he must have passed much of it in association with white people. A tradition states that he could even speak some Gaelic, an evidence of his mingling in boyhood or youth with Scotch Highlanders somewhere in Georgia. He first appears in history as one of the signers of the treaty of Washington November 14, 1805. After this, nothing is known of his history until April, 1813, when he sent a band of warriors to Tuckabatchie to assist the Upper Creek authorities in arresting Little

WILLIAM McINTOSH

A Lower Creek Chief born at Coweta in the present Russell County; massacred at his home in Carroll County, Georgia, March 31, 1825.

Warrior and his associates, who had committed some murders at the mouth of the Ohio in February, 1813. The murderers were all put to death. For this action, and on account of his sympathy for the Americans, sentence of death was passed upon him by the hostile Creeks. At the same time six other chiefs were condemned to death. In the fall of that year he appears as the leader of a band of Cowetas in the army of General John Floyd. He was at the battle of Atossee, November 14, 1813, and General Floyd in his report states that McIntosh and his braves fought in this battle "with an intrepidity worthy of any troops." He also distinguished himself at the battle of the Horseshoe, where General Jackson in his report speaks of him as "Major McIntosh."

His name appears as one of the signers of the treaty of Fort Jackson, August 9, 1814. He was also a signer of the treaty of the Creek Agency, Georgia, January 22, 1818. After this, at the head of a force of Creek Warriors he joined General Jackson in Florida for service against the Seminoles. He was commissioned general and placed in command of all the Indian troops, together with a company of Tennessee cavalry. In this short Seminole war, "he signalized himself by various acts of gallantry." General Jackson, in his report of the fight at Econafinnah, says: "On the morning of the 12th (April, 1818), near Econfinnah, or Natural Bridge, a party of Indians were discovered on the margin of a swamp, and attacked by General McIntosh, and about fifty Tennessee volunteers, who routed them, killing thirty-seven warriors, and capturing six men and ninety-seven women and children; also recapturing a white woman who had been taken at the massacre of Scott. The friendly Indians also took some horses, and about five hundred head of cattle from the enemy, who proved to be McQueen's party."

Another official report states that General McIntosh in this fight killed with his own hand three of the enemy and captured one. General Thomas Woodward with five other white men was with General McIntosh in this fight, in which the white woman, Mrs. Stuart, was rescued. She had been a captive since November 30, 1817. General Woodward thus describes this affair, generally known as "McIntosh's fight."

"Shortly after the firing commenced, we could hear a female voice in the English language calling for help, but she was concealed from our view. The hostile Indians, though greatly inferior in number to our whole force, had the advantage of the ground, it being a dense thicket, and kept the party that first attacked at bay until General McIntosh arrived with the main force. McIntosh, though raised among savages, was a General; yes, he was one of God's make of Generals. I could hear his voice above the din of fire-arms—'Save the white woman! Save the Indian women and children!' All this time Mrs. Stuart was between the fires of the combatants. McIntosh said to me. 'Chulataria Emathla, you, Brown and Mitchell, go to that woman.' (Chulataria Emathla was the name I was known by among the Indians.) Mitchell was a good soldier and a bad cripple from rheumatism. He dismounted from his horse and said, 'Boys, let me lead the way.' We made the charge with some Uchees and Creeks but Mitchell, poor fellow, was soon left behind, in consequence of his inability to travel on foot. I can see her now, squatted in the saw-palmetto, among a few dwarf cabbage trees, surrounded by a group of Indian women. There I saw Brown kill an Indian, and I got my rifle-stock shot off just back of the lock. Old Jack Carter came up with my horse shortly after we cut off the woman from the warriors. I got his musket and used it until the fight ended."

General McIntosh was mainly instrumental in negotiating the treaty of January 8, 1821. This treaty was certainly illegal, for it was made by a party representing only one-tenth of the nation, and to be legal it should have had the consent of the whole nation, assembled in public council. While the Creeks submitted to it, they became alarmed at this cession of their domain. As far back as 1811, in the council held at Broken Arrow, they had enacted a law, forbidding, under the penalty of death, the cession of land, except by the chiefs of the nation and ratified in full council. Rendered uneasy by this and other acts of General McIntosh, this law was formally re-enacted at Polecat Springs in 1824.

In their progress in agriculture and education the Creeks were becoming more and more appreciative of the value of their

lands, and consequently were more and more reluctant to part with them. The treaty of *Indian Springs* of February 12, 1825, made in defiance of the national law, was the fatal mistake of General McIntosh, and he had to pay the penalty. The Creek nation was greatly excited by this treaty, and in due time, a secret council of the Upper Creeks convened, and at it one hundred and seventy men were appointed to take the life of McIntosh. They received minute instructions as to their marching, place of camping, and the manner of the execution, and ere long were on their way to the Chattahoochee River, on the west bank of which, near *Coweta,* stood the house of McIntosh. There are several versions, differing in details, as to the manner in which General McIntosh was killed in the early morning of April 30, 1825.

Pickett's version is undoubtedly the most trustworthy, and with the omission of such circumstances as the escape of Chilly McIntosh and the burning of an outhouse, which occurred before the attack on the main house, it is here given:

"In the meantime, the principal body of the assailants had surrounded the main building, and the lightwood being immediately kindled, torches were applied to the sides, and under it. The flames threw a bright light over the yard, and exhibited to the astonished family of McIntosh the approaching conflagration of the houses, and the hideous forms of those who were to murder them. They frequently shouted with much exultation, McIntosh, we have come, we have come. We told you, if you sold the land to the Georgians, we would come.'

"McIntosh, upon the first discovery of the assailants, had barricaded his front door, and stood near it when it was forced. He fired on them, and at that moment, one of his steadfast friends, Tona Tustinungee, fell lifeless upon the threshold. His body was riddled with balls. McIntosh then retreated to the second story, with four guns in his hand, which he continued to discharge from a window. He fought with great courage, and, aware that his end was near, determined to sell his life as dear as possible. He was at this time the only occupant of the burning

house, for his two wives, Peggy and Susannah, who had been dragged into the yard, were heard imploring the savages not to burn him up, but to get him out of the house, and shoot him, as he was a brave man, and an Indian like themselves. McIntosh now came down to the first story, and was received with salutes of the rifle, until, being pierced with many balls, he fell to the floor, was seized by the legs, and dragged down the steps to the ground. While lying in the yard, and while the blood was gushing from his wounds, he raised himself on one arm, and surveyed his murderers with looks of defiance. At that moment, an Ocfuskee Indian plunged a long knife, to the hilt, in the direction of his heart. He brought a long breath, and expired. The party, after this, plundered the houses, killed the stock, and committed other depredations, as described in the public papers of that day."

It may be added that on the same day and very soon after General McIntosh's death, his son-in-law, Sam Hawkins, was killed at his own residence by a party of warriors detailed for that purpose.

The best and most charitable commentary upon the inducements which prompted General McIntosh to defy the law of his nation and thus incur its deadly penalty, was written by Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, who says:

"He propably foresaw that his people would have no rest within the limits of Georgia, and perhaps acted with an honest view to their interests. The intercourse he had enjoyed with the Army of the United States, and the triumph of their arms over the desperate valour of the Indians, which he had witnessed at Autossee, the Horseshoe, and in Florida, induced him to believe he would be safe under the shadow of their protection, even from the vengeance of his tribe. But there were, besides, strong appeals to his cupidity, in the provisions of the treaty of the Indian Springs, and in its supplements. By one of these, the Indian Spring reservation was secured to him; and by another it was agreed to pay him for it twenty-five thousand dollars. Moreover, the second article of the treaty provided for the payment to the Creek Nation, of four hundred thousand dollars. Of this sum he

would of course have received his share. Such inducements might have been sufficiently powerful to shake a virtue based upon a surer foundation than the education of a heathen Indian could afford. Besides this, he was flattered and caressed by the Commissioners, who were extremely eager to complete the treaty, and taught to believe he was consulting the ultimate advantage of the nation. These considerations, in some measure, remove the odium from his memory. But it must still bear the stain which Indian justice affixes to the reputation of the chief who sells, under such circumstances, the graves of his fathers."

General McIntosh is represented as a tall, finely formed man, with polished manners, which he had acquired from contact with the more refined of the white people and from association with army officers on the Southern frontier. He was the owner of a number of negro slaves, whom he treated kindly, and possessed considerable wealth.

General McIntosh had a half-brother on his father's side, named Rolin or Rolla, and a half-brother on his mother's side, named Hogey, often called Hogey McIntosh, who was a full blooded Indian. He had two wives, named Peggy and Sussannah, one of whom was a Creek, the other a Cherokee, but in the lack of records, it cannot be decided to which nationality each one respectively belonged. His Creek children were two sons, Chilly, who succeeded him in the chieftainship, and Lewis, and three daughters, Jane, Hetty, and Lucy. Jane was the oldest daughter. She first married Billy Mitchell, a son of the Creek agent David B. Mitchell; she next married Sam Hawkins, whose death has already been noted. She then married Paddy Carr, but left him and went to Arkansas Territory at an early day. General McIntosh had only one Charokee child, a daughter, who married Ben Hawkins, a brother of Sam. Ben was killed years afterwards in Texas. The McIntosh family has ever been distinguished in the Creek nation, prominent in church, state and military affairs. Several of them were Confederate field officers. The blood of the McIntosh clan thus shows that it was born to command, even when mingled with the wild blood of the Muscogee Indian.

General McIntosh wrote an official report of the affair of Econfinnah, which has the distinction of being the first report of this character ever written by an American Indian.

Nearly all the fighting of the first Seminole war was done by General McIntosh's command. They were mustered out of service on April 24. (Parton's Life of Jackson, vol. ii, p. 463.) A summary of their campaign is thus recorded by D. B. Mitchell, the Creek agent: "When McIntosh and his warriors were mustered at Fort Mitchell, he divided his force, and with that part which he retained under his own command, he descended the Chattahoochee on its western bank, and on reaching the town called Red Ground, encountered their chief and warriors. In this affair he took fifty-three warriors, and one hundred and thirty women and children. The chief made his escape with a few warriors. Colonel Lovett, with the rest of the warriors, mustered at Fort Mitchell, descended the Chattahoochee on the eastern bank, and General McIntosh crossing the river below the fork, the two detachments united on their march to Mickasuky, where they all joined General Jackson. At Mickasuky the Indians had generally fled, and but few were found at the town. On the march to Suwany, McIntosh, with his warriors, encountered about two hundred of the hostile party, under Peter McQueen, of whom he killed thirty-seven, and made six warriors and one hundred and six women and children prisoners. The next enemy they engaged were the negroes of Sauwanee, amounting to about two hundred and fifty, of whom eleven or twelve were killed, and three made prisoners. The Indians of this part of the country fled before the army, and here ended the Seminole campaign, as far as the Indians were concerned."

(Amrican State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. i, p. 749.)

References.—McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1854), vol. 1, pp. 129-133; American State Papers, *Military Affairs*, vol. 1, pp. 699-701; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, pp. 841, 843, 852; *Pickett's History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), pp. 519, 558; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 50, 54,

55, 114; White's *Historical Collections of Georgia* (1855), pp. 170-173; *Handbook of American Indians* (1907), part 2, p. 782; Spark's *Memories of Fifty Years* (1872), pp. 467-473; and *Alabama Historical Reporter*, vol. 3, no. 7, July, 1855; and Parton's *Life of Jackson* (168,1), vol. ii, pp. 459, 460.

Menawa, Creek chief, born probably at Okfuskee, about 1766, died in the Creek Nation west,—but year of death not known. He was a half-breed, but neither history nor tradition preserved the name of his white father. He was noted in early life for his annual horse-stealing exploits on the Cumberland frontier in Tennessee, but seldom shedding the blood of the settlers, except when he met with resistance. He received, in consequence of these raids, the name of Hopothla, said by McKenney and Hall to mean crazy war hunter. The stealing of horses by Hopothla must not be ascribed solely to a spirit of adventure. He had evidently inherited the commercial instincts of his white progenitors, and these horses added largely to his wealth. After a few years, he gave up these inroads into Tennessee, largely adopted some of the ways of civilized life and became a wealthy man. He owned large herds of cattle, great numbers of hogs, and several hundred horses. He owned a store, filled with various articles of merchandise suited for Indian life, which he bartered to his people for the products of the chase. He was known to drive to Pensacola, a hundred horses, loaded with peltries and furs. By the time of the outbreak of the Creek war of 1813, Menawa, the name by which he was now known, was one of the wealthiest Indians of the Upper Towns.

When Tecumseh visited the Creeks in 1811, Menawa was the second chief of the Okfuskee towns. He entered heart and soul into Tecumseh's schemes, influenced to this action, in a measure, by his hatred of General McIntosh, who, he knew, in case of war, would be on the side of the Americans. While Menawa was the war chief of his people in the Creek war, the head chief was a medicine man, in whose supernatural powers the ignorant Creeks placed the most implicit confidence. Menawa him-

MENAWA

An Upper Creek (Hilibi) Chief who led the Indians against Jackson at the Horseshoe Bend.

self was not exempt from this superstition. He fought in several battles of the Creek war, but is best known from his connection with the battle of the Horse-Shoe. The medicine man assured the Creeks, fortified on this consecrated ground, that the Americans would attack them in the rear, in the place where it was swept by the river. Menawa, just before the battle, posted his warriors in accordance with this prophecy. General Jackson at once saw that the vulnerable point of the horse-shoe was the breastwork in front extending across the isthmus. He at once rapidly moved forward his cannon, and with them made breaches in the breastwork, towards which the Tennesseans made an impetuous charge. Menawa saw the fatal mistake he made by heeding the false prophet; in his furious wrath, he struck him dead, and then, at the head of his Okfuskee braves, dashed forth over the breastwork against the Tennesseeans. The battle which ensued, terminating in the death of near one thousand Creek warriors, has often been described. When it ended, about sunset, Menawa, desperately wounded, lay unconscious amid a heap of the dead. When he recovered, and the darkness grew deeper, the love of life prompted him to escape from the fatal field. He crawled to the river, found a canoe, floated in it down the river to near the camp where the women and children were hidden prior to the battle. The canoe was seen by some of the women, Menawa was taken from it, and sent to an appointed rendezvous on Elkahatchee Creek, where he was joined by other unhappy survivors of the battle. Three days were passed by them in the mourning for their dead, in which no one ate, drank or permitted his wounds to be dressed. This over, it was resolved that each one should retire to his own home, and then make his own peace with the victors. Their wounds were then dressed, and all, except Menawa, went away to follow out the plan agreed upon in their council. Such is the story of the escape of Menawa from the battlefield of the Horse-Shoe, as related by McKenney and Hall. It differs irreconcilably from the version given by Pickett, but may be reconciled with the incidents in Woodward's version of Menawa's making use of a woman's dress while lying wounded on the field. Pickett's statement that Menawa, while lying in the river, breathed through the long joint of a cane, one end of which projected above the water, records something that no human being can do,

and this statement, made perhaps in a quizzical mood by Menawa himself, was palmed off upon Pickett's credulity. In short, Pickett's version must be rejected. Menawa's wounds kept him in his retreat until after the close of the war. He then sought his old home in Okfuskee, but found everything swept away by the war, and he was now indeed a very poor man. According to one authority he and his people made their homes near the falls of the Catawba for more than a year after the war. He regained his health, reassumed his old time leadership over the Okfuskee people, and again was an influential man in the Creek nation. Like the majority of his people, he was opposed to any cessions of land. In 1825, in the excitement following the treaty of Indian Springs, a secret council was held, in which a party of chiefs and warriors were appointed to carry into execution the national law by putting to death General William McIntosh, who, in violation of this law, had presumed to make a cession of land at Indian Springs. Menawa was one of these National executioners. In after years, he regretted his share in this affair, saying that he would freely lay down his life, if by so doing, he could bring back to life Billy McIntosh. He was one of the delegates that went to Washington to remonstrate against the treaty of Indian Springs. His conduct during the negotiations was calm and dignified, for he was a gentleman in appearance and manners.

In 1835 he sent his oldest son to serve against the Seminoles in Florida. In 1836 he was among the first Creeks to offer his services against his insurgent countrymen, and in combination with Opothleyaholo, he marched with his braves against the hostile town of Hatchechubbee. On this occasion he wore a full American uniform and "affected the conduct of a civilized leader, whose object was to prevent the effusion of blood." This shows a great evolution in his mental and moral attitude, from that of the savage chief in 1814 to a military leader, imbued with the ideas of civilization, in 1836. Menawa was opposed to the emigration of the entire Creek Nation, but wished that certain reservations, to be held in perpetuity, should be granted to such individuals as wished to remain in the ceded territory. Such a reservation was granted to him in consideration of his past services. But scarcely was it granted when "by some strange inadvertence or

want of faith, he was ordered to join the emigration camp." He went west with his people, but there is no record of his life in the new country, not even when and where he died. In 1894, Miss Hannah Monahwee, the granddaughter of the chief Menawa, was the matron of the Wetumpka National Labor School in the Creek Nation, Colonel William Robison, Superintendent. Monahwee is another form of writing Monawa.

References.—McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1854), vol. ii, pp. 97-105; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition, 1900), p. 590; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek,* or *Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 43, 116, 117, 168.

Mistippee.—A Seminole Creek boy who made several trips with delegations to Washington where in 1826 his portrait was painted. He married a Hillibee-Creek woman in the Nation in Alabama and went with one of the early parties to the allotted lands in the West.

Great Mortar, Yah- Yah Tustenugegee, Yahatatastenake, or *Otis Micco, Creek chief,* of whose early life nothing is known. He was born in Okchaiyi, belonged to the Bear clan, and became a prominent chief of his native town. He did his trading at Fort Toulouse, and during the French and Indian war was in the French interest. Governor Ellis of Georgia often sent messages to him to come and see him, as he wished to cultivate a good understanding with him and convert him to the English interest. The Great Mortar, at last, about the summer of 1759, inclined to the English and perhaps might have become a thorough English partisan but for the foolish conduct of Edmund Atkin, the first Superintendent of the Southern Indians. About the first of October 1759, Atkin was holding a council with the chiefs and headmen of the Creeks in "the great beloved Square of Tuckabatchee." Here he committed a most egregious folly in stigmatizing the chiefs as Frenchmen, that is, in the French interest, and re-

MISTEPEE

A Seminole Chief.

fusing to shake hands with them, an act regarded by them as extremely discourteous. Worse than all this, he forbade them to hand the white peace pipe to the Great Mortar, because he had been in the French interest. Atkin here threw away a great opportunity, for had he acted with wisdom he might then and there have thoroughly reclaimed the Great Mortar. In the course of his talk to the Creeks, he made use of so many bitter remarks, that at last a chief, stung to madness, sprang up and threw his tomahawk at the agent's head. It fortunately missed and struck a plank above his head. The action would have been repeated but for the interposition of a friendly warrior. After the personal affronts and insults at Tuckabatchee, the Great Motar became a staunch friend of the French. In the war that soon broke out between the Cherokees and the province of South Carolina the French at Fort Toulouse made much use of the Great Motar and his adherents, by sending through them all kinds of military supplies to the Cherokees. In the spring of 1760 the Great Mortar devised a scheme to kill all the traders among the Upper Creeks and to appropriate their goods. He engaged the services of all young warriors who were his kinsmen and selected May 14 as the day for the bloody work, as at this time the Creeks were usually in their fields hoeing their crops. The whole affair was a secret, known only to the conspirators. The day came and the bloody work began in the northernmost town, Sukaispoka, whence the raging savages surged down the country to Kialagee, where the massacre was repeated, then to Okfuskey, but before they reached Okchaiyi, the traders of that place received warning, and all made their escape except two, who were killed by some warriors of the town who were in the conspiracy. Ten traders were killed on this day, all the outcome of the Great Mortar's revenge. In the meantime, while the Cherokee war was still going on, the French, after mature deliberation, concluded to settle the Great Mortar, his family and his warriors, far up the Coosa, halfway to the Cherokee country, where he could better enlist the Cherokees and other disaffected Indians in the French cause. The place selected was all that could please the Indians,—no annoying insects, the river at that point shallow, and its bottoms covered with a salty grass upon which the deer were always feeding,—making it altogether a most suitable place for an Indian

village. Supplies for it could always be sent up the river from Fort Toulouse. In due time the Great Mortar, furnished with a French commission, a French flag, and other essentials, with his numerous followers, loaded with supplies for themselves and the Cherokees, began their march to the new settlement. Here they built their cabins, and here they erected the French flag, no doubt the fartherest point up Coosa River where the French flag ever floated. The French and the Great Mortar were not mistaken as to the advantages of this border town. It became a great rendezvous to the Cherokees, the Mississippi Indians and the disaffected Creeks. Had this "nest of hornets," so styled by Adair, been left to remain undisturbed, it would have shown it self the deadliest foe of the Georgia and Carolina colonists. The Chickasaws, staunch friends of the English, soon heard of its establishment. Their warriors were thoroughly familiar with the locality, even with the very site of the Great Mortar's residence. A large party of them embodied, marched against the town and broke it up. They attacked the Great Mortar's house. He managed to escape, but his brother who was with him was slain. The disaster wrought deeply upon the proud spirit of the Great Mortar. Ashamed to return to his former home, he and his followers made a settlement in the most northern part of the Creek nation, the place receiving from the traders the name of "Mortar's plantation." From this place, with their Cherokee allies, they made frequent raids upon the Carolina settlements. They were with the Cherokees in 1761, when Colonel Grant brought the war to a close. It is probable that when Colonel Grant began his march from Fort Prince George up into the Cherokee country in June, 1763, the Great Mortar may have begun to doubt the ultimate success of the Cherokee cause, and hence may have wished to make fair weather with the English. For, about this time, in a public talk with another headman, he denied being in the French interest, or an ally of the Cherokees in their war; but declared himself a firm friend of the English, and wished to be looked upon as such; and that he would be greatly pleased to receive a small present from them. This talk of the Great Mortar having been reported to Governor Wright, he ordered on July 21, 1761, that a silver gorget and armlets should be sent to some headman in the nation, who would present them to the Great Mortar. The

peace made between the English and French was certainly generally known among the Southern Indians by the spring of 1763. Then for the first time there was an interchange of talk between the Great Mortar and Governor James Wright of Georgia. The Creek chief was present at the council of the Upper Creeks, on April 5, 1763, where he made a talk which as was sent to Governor Wright. In his talk the Great Mortar complained and justly so of the intrusion of white people with their cattle and horses upon the Indian lands, that these people had killed or driven off all the deer and bear, so that the Creeks could not supply their families with provisions as formerly, and as a matter of necessity they had to kill the white people's cattle roaming on the land so as to have food to eat when they were hungry. The Virginia people occupying these lands had said that they would not leave them neither for the King's nor the red people's talk, and he hoped that the King would oblige them to take his talk, which would prevent much mischief that would otherwise happen. The Great Motar next spoke of the insufficient supplies of powder and lead, which the traders supplied the Creek town, which should be fifteen bags of powder and an equivalent amount of bullets to each town. A chief of the Lower Creeks present at the council also sent to Governor Wright a talk of the same import,—that he had told Sampiaffi and Togulki that as soon as the Cherokee war was over, the Virginians should be sent off the lands, but now since the close of the war they were settled there more numerous than before.

On May 8, a common talk by the Great Mortar and Gen. Merchant was sent from Okchaiyi to Governor Wright in which the land question was still the burden, and the talk closed with the fear that the white people intended to settle all around the Indians and so smother them out of life. The Governor replied to these talks by a talk informing the Indians that there would be a general meeting with them at Augusta in the fall, when all these things would be talked over and settled. He also sent them copies of the King's instructions, forbidding any persons settling on the lands claimed by the Indians, and requiring those already settled on them to remove therefrom. According to Adair the Great Mortar was present at the Indian congress held in Augusta in No-

vember. If so, he was only a looker on, for his name does not appear among the Creek speakers, nor among the signers of the treaty. Adair also states that the Great Mortar, after his return home, sent off into South Carolina the party that murdered on December 23, the fourteen persons in the Long Cane settlement above Ninety-six. There is a dearth of historical materials to the Southern Indian World in 1764. But from some causes during this year the Great Mortar became the leading chief in the Creek nation. The fall of this year was a period fraught with peril to the people of Mobile and Pensacola. Pontiac was still a formidable character in the northwest in spite of the subjugation of the Shawnees and Delawares, his staunchest allies. In the summer of 1764, he visited the Kickapoos, the Peankishaws, the Miamis and the Illinois, and by his imperious eloquence aroused them to the fiercest hatred and hostility against the English. At Fort Chartres he had his women to make a wampum belt six feet long and four inches wide, wrought with the symbols of the forty-seven towns and tribes that still adhered to his alliance. This belt was consigned to an embassy of chosen warriors with instructions to carry it down the Mississippi River and exhibit it to every nation inhabiting its banks, exhorting them to watch the movements of the English and repel any attempt they might make to ascend the river. Governor George Johnstone and Captain John Stuart have left it on record that the Great Mortar, and Alabama Mingo of the Choctaw Upper Towns were allies of Pontiac in this great scheme of a general war against the English. This statement certainly implies that emissaries of Pontiac must surely have visited the Southern Indian chiefs in 1764. But whatever hopes they may have entertained were soon after dashed to earth by the ruin of Pontiac's cause. Still the evils of Pontiac's teachings lived after him. His emissaries had instilled into the minds of the various Indian nations that the English intended to surround them, extirpate them by cutting off their supplies, and then take possession of their lands. All this was fully believed by these untutored peoples. In such an alarming state of affairs, it was a most serious consideration with the English officials how to induce the Creeks, now so greatly under the influnce of Great Mortar, to attend the congress that was proclaimed to be held in Pensacola. First it was needful to gain over the Great Mortar himself. Fin-

ally John Hanny and a Lieutenant Campbell were commissioned by Governor Johnstone to go up into the Creek nation and induce him to attend the congress. They acquitted themselves well of their dangerous mission. The Congress in Pensacola was in session from May 26 to June 4, 1765. The Great Mortar was present and was the recipient of marked attention on the part of the English officers. He was a prominent speaker in the councils and was one of the thirty-one chiefs that signed the treaty then made between the English and the Creeks. On the last day, after the signing of the treaty, the Great Mortar and three Upper Creek chiefs were vested with the authority of great medal chiefs, and at the same time three Lower Creek chiefs were made small medal chiefs. The medals were given to them under the discharge of the great guns of the fort and of the ships in the harbor and with the music of drums and fifes. Captain Stuart then gave a charge to the chiefs, explaining the nature and duty of their offices, and then presented them to the Indians present as their chiefs, whom they must obey and respect as their superiors. This ceremony over, the Congress was closed with the drinking of the King's health. The Great Mortar was undoubtedly a very superior Indian. But, as in the case of men of all undeveloped races, he was, viewed from the point of modern civilization, like a child in some respects. Sometime after the Congress, on account of some trade regulations, he became very much offended with some traders, and received some affronts from them. This nettled him and with childish pettishness, he resigned his medal to Neahlatko, the Headman of Little Tallassee, with instructions for him to carry it back to Governor Johnstone. At a council held at Okchaiyi on May 16, 1766, which the Great Mortar attended, Neahlatko in a talk said that if ever the Great Mortar should visit England without the medal given to him by the English it would not look well, and he wished him to take it back, and the general talk of the people was that he should take it back. By keeping the medal, it might too induce him to live in the nation as now he lived far from it. If he resigned it, the people might think that he took no interest in the affairs of the nation. As now the governor had written to the King that the Great Mortar had accepted the medal, he insisted that the chief should keep it and wear it. The Great Mortar yielded to the

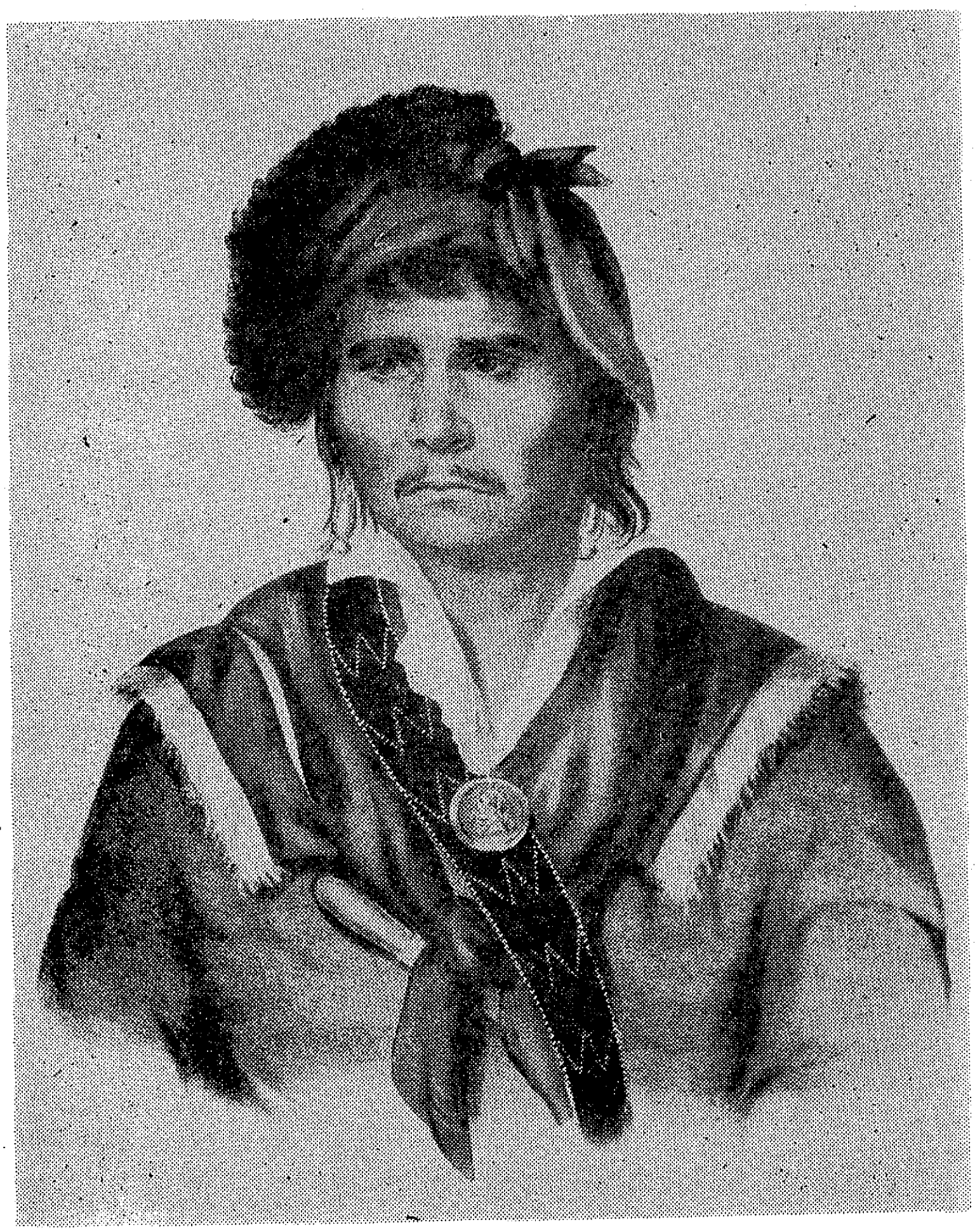
force of Neahlatko's arguments and took back the medal. Notwithstanding this action, the Great Mortar at heart never was really friendly to the English,—"that bitter enemy of the English name," as he is styled by Adair. In 1768 war was raging between the Creeks and the Chickasaws. In April of this year, a deputy Superintendent convened a council of most of the headmen of the Creeks in order to induce them to make overtures by sending the Chickasaws a friendly mediating letter. The Creeks assented, and the letter, accompanied with such peace tokens as eagle tails, swan wings, white beads, white pipes and tobacco, was entrusted to a white man who traded with the Chickasaws. The Great Mortar, animated by a bitter feeling against everything transacted by a British official, determined to render these peace measures of no avail. Soon after the departure of the trader, he set off with ninety men and traveled to within one hundred and fifty miles of the Chickasaw nation. Here he halted and sent seven of his staunchest warriors, under the command of his brother, to surprise and kill any one in the Chickasaw country they might encounter. The trader meanwhile arrived at his point of destination, delivered the letter and the peace tokens, assuring the Chickasaws besides that he had seen no tracks of any war party on the long trading path that he had traveled. With all such evidences of peace, the Chickasaws were thrown off their guard. It was now early in May. Two days after the delivery of the letter and the peace tokens, two women, who were hoeing in a field, were shot down, tomahawked and scalped by two of the Big Warrior's detailed party, who then gave the death whoop and bounded away in an oblique course so as to baffle their pursuers. The Chickasaws as once gave their shrill war whoop, and forty mounted men at once started in hot pursuit. Four springhtly young Chickasaws, outstripping the others, intercepted the Creeks, killed the Great Mortar's brother, and recovered from him the scalp of one of the women, which was fastened to his girdle. The other six Creeks escaped by taking refuge in a large dense came brake. With all this mishap, the Great Mortar succeeded in his scheme. All hopes of peace were broken and the war continued to rage between the Creeks and the Chickasaws. The last extant notice of the Great Mortar is his presence at the congress held in Au-

gusta in June, 1773. Here he persuaded Captain Stuart to write a conciliating letter to the Choctaws. A white interpreter and a Creek chief named Mesheesteeke were the carriers of this letter, which was accompanied with the usual peace tokens. History is silent as to its reception. The Great Mortar's design in this matter is left to conjectures. Suffice it to say that Stuart's action was censured by the traders, who ever considered it the worst kind of policy to intervene in Indian intertribal wars, for during the continuance of such wars, there was generally more or less peace upon the frontiers, the pitiless wrath of the uncontrollable young Indian warriors being then vented against people of their own race.

References.——Adair's *American Indians* (1775), pp 253-256, 268-272; Mississippi *Provincial Archives* (1912), vol. i, pp. 184, 189-191, 198-210, 516, 525-531; *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, vol. 9, pp. 70-74; *Ibid*, vol. 8, p. 539; Drake's *Indians*, p. 384.

Mushalatubbee.——A Choctaw chief, born in the last half of the 18th century. He was present at Washington, D. C., in Dec., 1824, as one of the Choctaw delegation, where he met and became acquainted with Lafayette on his last visit to the United States. He led his warriors against the Creeks in connection with Jackson in 1812. He signed as leading chief the treaty of Choctaw Trading House, Miss., Oct. 24, 1816; of Treaty Ground, Miss., Oct. 18, 1820; of Washington, D. C., Jan. 20, 1825; and of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Miss., Sept. 27, 1830. He died of smallpox at the agency in Arkansas, Sept. 30, 1838. His name was later applied to a district in Indian Ter.

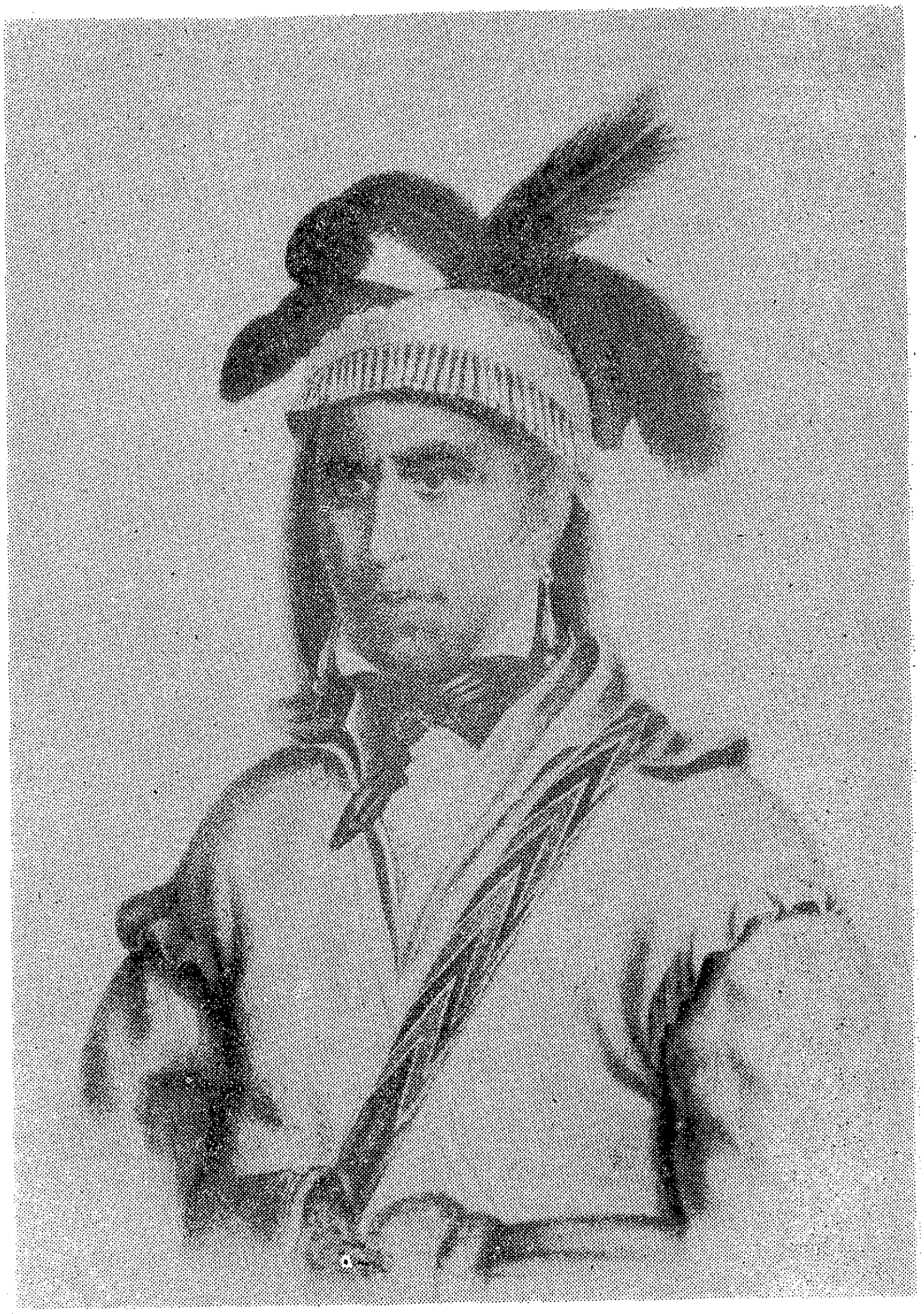
(*Handbook of American Indians*, Vo.l 1, p. 958.)



NEAMATHLA

A Creek born Seminole Chief who signed the treaty for the Hitchiti town location on the Chattahoochee.

Nehemathla Micco, or Neamathla Micco, Creek chief. Nothing has been left on record as to the early life of this chief. The war of 1813 finds him a chief of Atossa, and a partisan of the hostile faction. He was present at the massacre of Fort Mims. After the defeat at the Horse-Shoe, he and Josiah Francis temporarily placed their people on the Catoma, just above the Federal crossing; thence they all went to Florida, where the two chiefs became leaders of the hostile Indians, and at last by one act, Neamathla won an infamous celebrity. On November 30, 1817, Lieutenant Richard W. Scott, in command of forty United States soldiers, with seven soldiers' wives and four children, in a large open boat, was slowly ascending the Apalachicola River. They were within a mile of the confluence of the Chattahoochie and the Flint, and were passing along by a swamp densely covered with trees and cane, the boat within a few yards of the shore. Here lay in ambush Nehemathla with a large band of warriors. Not a soul of the whites had the least suspicion of danger. Suddenly the ambushed Indians poured a deadly volley into the closely crowded party on the boat, killing or wounding nearly every man. After firing other volleys, the Indians arose from their ambush, rushed forth, took possession of the boat, and then there took place a horrible scene of indiscriminate killing and scalping. Four men, two of them wounded, made their escape by leaping overboard and swimming to the opposite shore. In twenty minutes the affair was over. The lives of five persons were spared, one being Lieutenant Scott, who was wounded, and one a Mrs. Stuart, the only person unhurt. The five prisoners were bound and carried to a Mikasuki village. Here Mrs. Stuart was given to an Indian, named Yellow Hair, who, it is stated, treated her humanely during all her captivity. But an awful doom, by order of Nehemathla Micco, was reserved for Lieutenant Scott. During the entire day he was subjected to the fire torture in every conceivabble form before being put to death. During all this time Nehemathla Micco stood by and enjoyed the prisoner's agony. The enormity of this act was too great for pardon, and four months later the day of reckoning came. In April, 1814, he and Josiah Francis were both captured and both executed. The torture of Lieutenant Scott was the very charge upon which Nehemathla



HOPOTHLEYOHOLO

An Upper Creek Chief born at Tuckabatchee, in the present Elmore County.

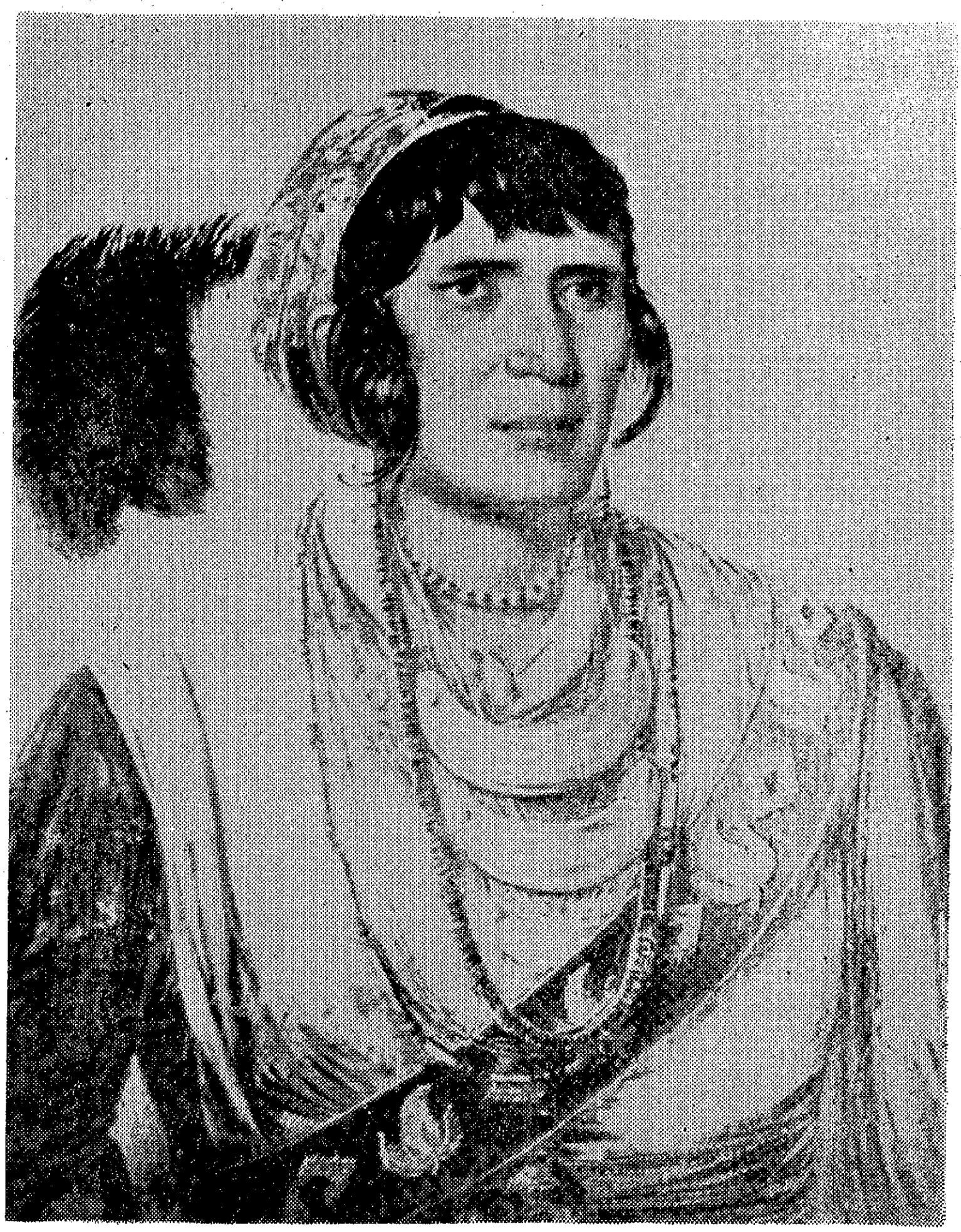
was hanged by order of General Jackson. An eye witness of the execution described him as "'a savage-looking man, of forbidding countenance, indicating cruelty and ferocity. He was taciturn and morose."

In Buell's History of Jackson, the first syllable of this chief's name is elided, and emathla converted into Himallo,–Himollomicco. In an official letter to General Jackson it is strangely spelled Hornattlemico,–a pen or printer's slip, perhaps a combination of both. In another letter he spells it Homattlemicco, which excepting the loss of the first syllable closely approaches Nehemathlamicco. General Jackson's epithet, "the old Red Stick," shows that he was familiar with his career as a Red Stick during the Creek War.

References.—American State Papers, *Military Affairs* (1832), vol. i, p. 700; Woodward's *Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (1859), pp. 43, 53, 54, 97; Parton's *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. ii, pp. 430, 431, 455-458; Buell's *History of Jackson* (1904), vol. ii, pp. 123-125.

Opothleyaholo, Creek chief, born probably in Tuckabatchee, year of birth not known, died in Kansas about 1866, was the son of Davy Cornells, who was the son of Joseph Cornells by a Tuckabatchee woman. On good Creek authority the etymology of the name is "hupuena," child, "hehle," good, and "Yaholo," holloer, whooper. Davy Cornells, the father, was killed by a party of lawless whites in June, 1793, while going under a white flag to see James Seagrove, the Creek agent, at Coleraine. No facts have been presented of the early life of Opothleyaholo, except that he was considered a promising youth, nor is it known when he rose to the position of speaker of the councils of the Upper Creek towns. His residence was in Tuckabatchee, near the great council house. His first public service was in February, 1825, at the treaty of Indian Springs, whither he went as the representative of the Upper Creeks to remonstrate with General McIntosh against the cession of any part of the Creek country. In his

speech before the commissioners, he told them that the chiefs present had no authority to cede lands, which could only be done in full council and with the consent of the whole Nation, and this was not a full council. While perfectly respectful to the commissioners, in his speech he warned General McIntosh of the doom that awaited him if he signed the treaty. Opothleyaholo left the treaty ground for home the next day. McIntosh signed the treaty and paid for this action with his life. Opothleyaholo was at the head of the Creek chiefs that soon after went to Washington to protest against the validity of this treaty, and to execute one that would be more acceptable to his people. In all the negotiations that followed, "he conducted himself with great dignity and firmness, and displayed talents of a superior order. He was cool, cautious, and sagacious; and with a tact which would have done credit to a more refined diplomatist, refused to enter into any negotiation until the offensive treaty of the Indian Springs should be annulled. The executive being satisfied that the treaty had not been made with the consent of the nation, nor in accordance with its laws, but in opposition to the one, and in defiance of the other, disapproved of it, and another was made at Washington in January, 1826, the first article of which declared the treaty of the Indian Springs to be null and void. Under the new treaty the Creeks ceded all their lands in Georgia except a small strip on the Chattahoochee, which after much negotiation was ceded to Georgia in 1827. On the death of Little Prince in —— Opothleyaholo became practically the principal chief of the Creeks, though he still continued to exercise the functions of speaker of the councils. In the Creek troubles of 1836, Sangahatchee, an Upper town, was the first to rise in revolt, and its painted warriors began to waylay and murder travelers on the highways. Without delay Opothleyaholo arrayed the warriors of Tuckabatchee, marched against the insurgent town captured it, and delivered the prisoners captured into the hand of the military authorities. He next, at the request of Governo Clay, called a council of his warriors at Kialgee, and there, takin fifteen hundred of them, he marched to Talladega and offere their services to General Jessup, there in command of the regu lar troops. The offer was accepted, and Opothlayaholo, pr moted to the rank of colonel, was appointed commander of a



OSCEOLA, from the painting by King.

(After McKenney and Hall. Bureau of American Ethnology.)

the Indian troops. The united regular and Indian forces, all under the command of General Jessup, now marched without delay to the town of Hatcheechubbee, where were embodied the hostiles, who, overawed by such an imposing force, surrendered, and the trouble was over.

Shortly after this came the enforced migration of the Creeks from their native land. Opothleyaholo had ever been extremely adverse to emigration west. One of his objections was that the Upper and Lower Creeks could not live harmoniously in close contiguity with each other in the new country, cherishing, as they did, the bitter feelings engendered by the death of General McIntosh. His forebodings were not realized, for after settling in the new country, the old feud was in a measure forgotten, and Opothleyaholo still continued in his office as chief speaker in the Creek councils. At the outbreak of the great war of 1861, the Creeks divided, the more ignorant position, influenced by Opothleyaholo, adhered to the Federal cause, while the educated and progressive element, under the McIntoshes, were strong adherents of the Confederacy. A civil war ensued, with the result that Opothleyaholo with his partisans, in great destitution, retreated in December to Coffey County, Kansas, where the old chief died shortly after the war. But little is known of the domestic life of Opothleyaholo, whether he had one or more wives. He had a son, born about 1816, who was educated at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, and named Colonel Johnson, in honor of Colonel Richard M. Johnson. He had several daughters, said to have been handsome women.

Osceola (also spelled Oseola, Asseola, Asseheholar, properly *Asi-yaholo*, 'Black-drink halloer,' from *asi*, the 'black drink', *yaholo*, the long drawn-out cry sung by the attendant while each man in turn is drinking). A noted Seminole leader to whom the name Powell was sometimes applied from the fact that after the death of his father his mother married a whte man of that name. He was born on Tallapoosa River, in the Creek country, about 1803. His paternal grandfather was a Scotchman, and it is said

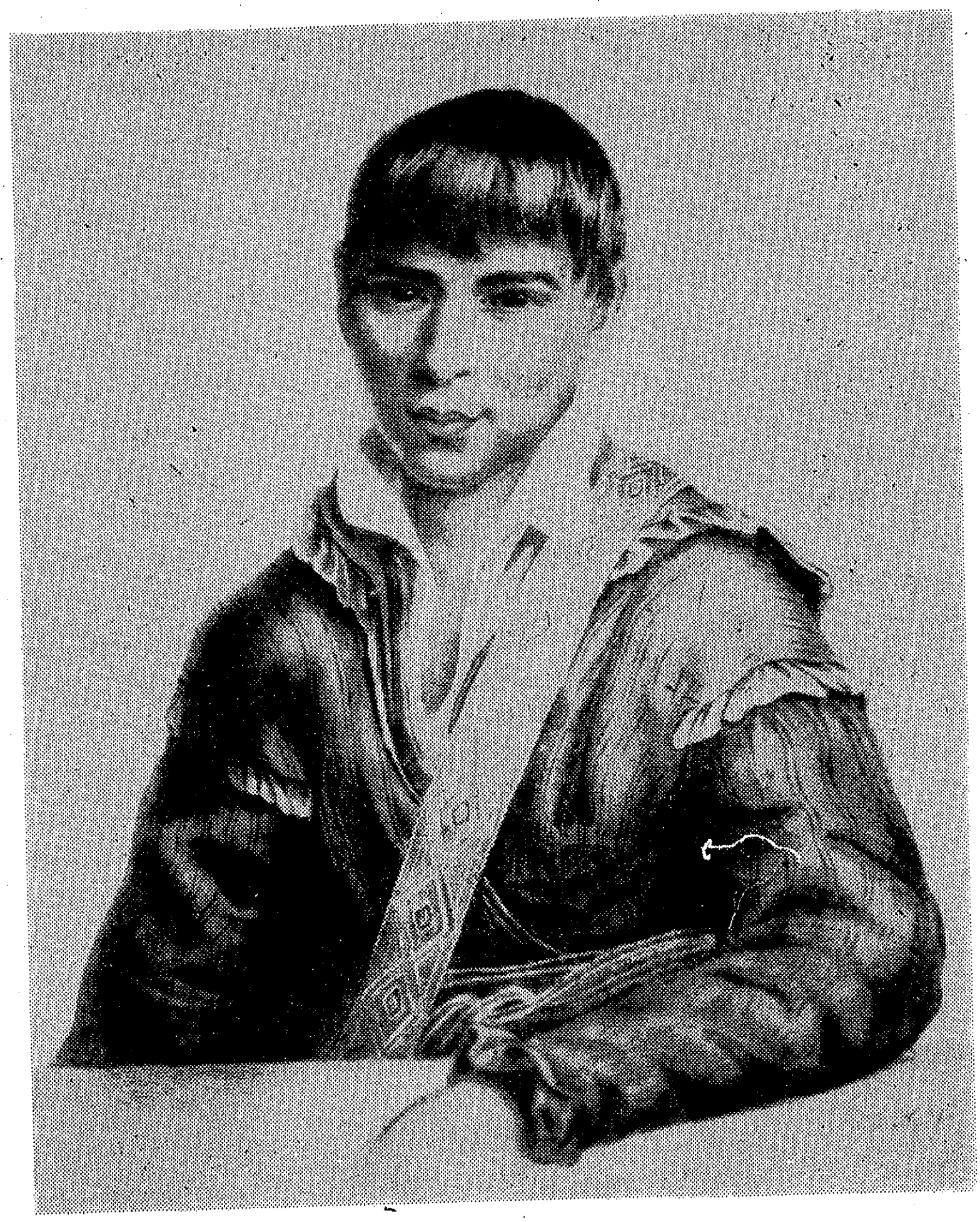
the Caucasian strain was noticeable in his features and complexion. He was not a chief by decent, nor, so far as is known, by formal election, but took his place as leader and acknowledged chieftain by reason of his abilities as a warrior and commander during the memorable struggle of his people with the United States in the Seminole War of 1835. Secreting the women, children, and old men of his tribe in the depths of a great swamp, where the white troops were for a long time unable to find them, Osceola turned his energy to the work of harassing the Government forces. Maj. Dade and his detachment, the first to attack him, were cut off, only two or three wounded men escaping. Beginning with Gen. Gaines, one after another officer was placed in charge of the army sent against this intrepid warrior and his followers. These were successively baffled, owing largely to the physical difficulties to be overcome on account of the nature of the Seminole country until Gen. Jessup, maddened by the public cry for more energetic action, siezed Osceola and his attendants while holding a conference under a flag of truce—an act condemed as inexcusable treachery by the same public that had urged him on. The loss of freedom, and the brooding over the manner in which he had been betrayed, broke the spirit of the youthful chief, who died a prisoner in Fort Moultrie, S. C., in January 1838. In physique Osceola was descrribed as tall, slender, and straight, with a countenance pleasing, though of somewhat melancholy cast. See Sketch of the Seminole War, by a Lieutenant, 1836; Barr, Narr. Ind. Wars in Fla., 1836; McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, 1854; Potter, The War in Florida, 1836; Ellis, Indian Wars of the United States, 1892.

C.T.

References.—McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1854), vol. ii, pp. 7-15; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen's Edition), (1900), pp. 84, 652; Brewer's *Alabama* (1872), p. 18; *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society* (1899), vol. 3, pp. 163-165; *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society* (1904), vol. iv, p. 114; *Handbook of American In-*

---

(1) Hand of American Indians, Vol. 2, p. 159.



PADDY CARR

A Coweta Creek leader; agency interpreter Born near Fort Mitchell in Russell County. Served against the Seminoles in Florida in 1836.

dians (1910), part 2, pp. 141, 142; *Official War Records,* Serial Nos. 8, 19, 111, 117, 128; Sparks' *"The Memories of Fifty Years* (1872), pp. 467-478.

Paddy Carr.—A Coweta Creek leader, interpreter to the Agent at Fort Mitchell. He was the son of Tom Carr an Irish trader among the Indians. Paddy was reared an orphan among the family of Mr. Crowell, the Agent, and served with him to date of the removal of the Indians in 1836. Carr's first born children were twins, Ari and Adne, named to honor the daughter of his youthful friend, Miss Ariadne Crowell, niece of the Hon. John Crowell, the Creek Indian Agent. Carr died in the West after an eventful career there. At one time he owned considerable property in Russell County in Alabama.

Pushmataha[1] *Apushim-alhtaha,* 'the sapling is ready, or finished, for him'—Halbert). A noted Choctaw, of unknown ancestry, born on the E. bank of Noxuba cr. in Noxubee Co., Miss., in 1764; died at Washington, D. C., December 24, 1824. Before he was 20 years of age he distinguished himself in an expedition against the Osage, w. of the Mississippi. The boy disappeared early in the conflict that lasted all day, and on rejoining the Choctaw warriors was jeered at and accused of cowardice, whereon Pushmataha replied, "Let those laugh who can show more scalps than I can," forthwith producing five scalps, which he threw upon the ground—the result of a single-handed onslaught on the enemy's rear. This incident gained for him the name "Eagle" and won for him a chieftaincy; later he became mingo of the Oklahannali or Six Towns district of the Choctaw, and exercised much influence in promoting friendly relations with the whites. Although generally victorious, Pushmataha's war party on one occasion was attacked by a number of Cherokees and defeated. He is said to have moved into the present Texas, then Spanish territory, where he lived several years, adding to his reputation for prowess, on one occasion going alone at

PUSHMATAHA

A Choctaw Chief born in Mississippi; served with Claiborne against the Indians in 1813-14; died in Washington City in 1824, and is there buried.

night to a Tonaqua (Tawakoni?) village, killing seven men with his own hand, and setting fire to several houses. During the next two years he made three more expeditions against the same people, adding eight scalps to his trophies. When Tecumseh visited the Choctaw in 1811 to persuade them to join an uprising against the Americans, Pushmataha strongly opposed the movement, and it was largely through his influence that the Shawnee chief's mission among this tribe failed. During the War of 1812 most of the Choctaw became friendly to the United States through the opposition of Pushmataha and John Pitchlynn to a neautral course Pushamataha being alleged to have said, on the last day of a ten days' council: "The Creeks were once our friends. They have joined the English and we must now follow different trails. When our fathers took the hand of Washington, they told him the Choctaw would always be friends of his nation, and Pushamataha can not be false to their promises. I am now ready to fight against both the English and the Creeks." He was at the head of 500 warriors during the war, engaging in 24 fights and serving under Jackson's eye in the Pensacola campaign. In 1813, with about 150 Choctaw warriors, he joined Gen. Claiborne and distinguished himself in the attack and defeat of the Creeks under Weatherford at Kanchati, or Holy Ground, on Alabama r., Ala. While aiding the United States troops he was so rigid in his discipline that he soon succeeded in converting his wild warriors into efficient soldiers, while for his energy in fighting the Creeks and Seminole he became popularly known to the whites as "The Indian General." Pushmataha signed the treaties of Nov. 16, 1805; Oct. 24, 1816; and Oct. 18, 1820. In negotiating the last treaty, at Doak's Stand, "he displayed much diplomacy and showed a business capacity equal to that of Gen. Jackson, against whom he was pitted, in driving a sharp bargain." In 1824, he went to Washington to negotiate another treaty in behalf of his tribe. Following a brief visit to Lafayette, then at the capital, Pushmataha became ill and died within 24 hours. In accordance with his request he was buried with military honors, a procession of 2,000 persons, military and civilian, accompanied by President

---

[1]Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 2, pp. 329-330.

Jackson, following his remains to Congressional Cemetery. A shaft bearing the following inscriptions was erected over his grave.

"Pushmataha a Choctaw chief lies here. This monument to his memory is erected by his brother chiefs who were associated with him in a delegation from their nation, in the year 1824, to the General Government of the United States."

"Push-ma-taha was a warrior of great distinction.

He was wise in council – elequent in an extraordinary degree, and on all occasions, and under all circumstances, the whiteman's friend."

"He died in Washington, on the 24th of December, 1824, of the croup, in the 60th year of his age."

General Jackson frequently expressed the opinion that Pushmataha was the greatest and bravest Indian he had ever known, and John Randolph of Roanoke, in pronouncing a eulogy on him in the Senate, uttered the words regarding his wisdom, his eloquence, and his friendship for the whites that afterward were inscribed on his monument. There is a good reason to believe, however, that much of Pushmataha's reputation for eloquence was due in no small part to his interpreters. He was deeply interested in the education of his people, and it is said devoted $2,000 of his annuity for fifteen years toward the support of the Choctaw school system. As mingo of the Oklahannali, Pushmataha was succeeded by Nittakechi, "Day-prolonger." Several portraits of Pushmataha are extant, including one in the Redwood Library at Newport, R. I., one in possession of Gov. McCurtin at Kinta, Okla. (which was formerly in the Choctaw capitol), and another in a Washington restaurant. The first portrait, painted by O. B. King at Washington in 1824, shortly before Pushmataha's death, was burned in the Smithsonian fire of 1865.

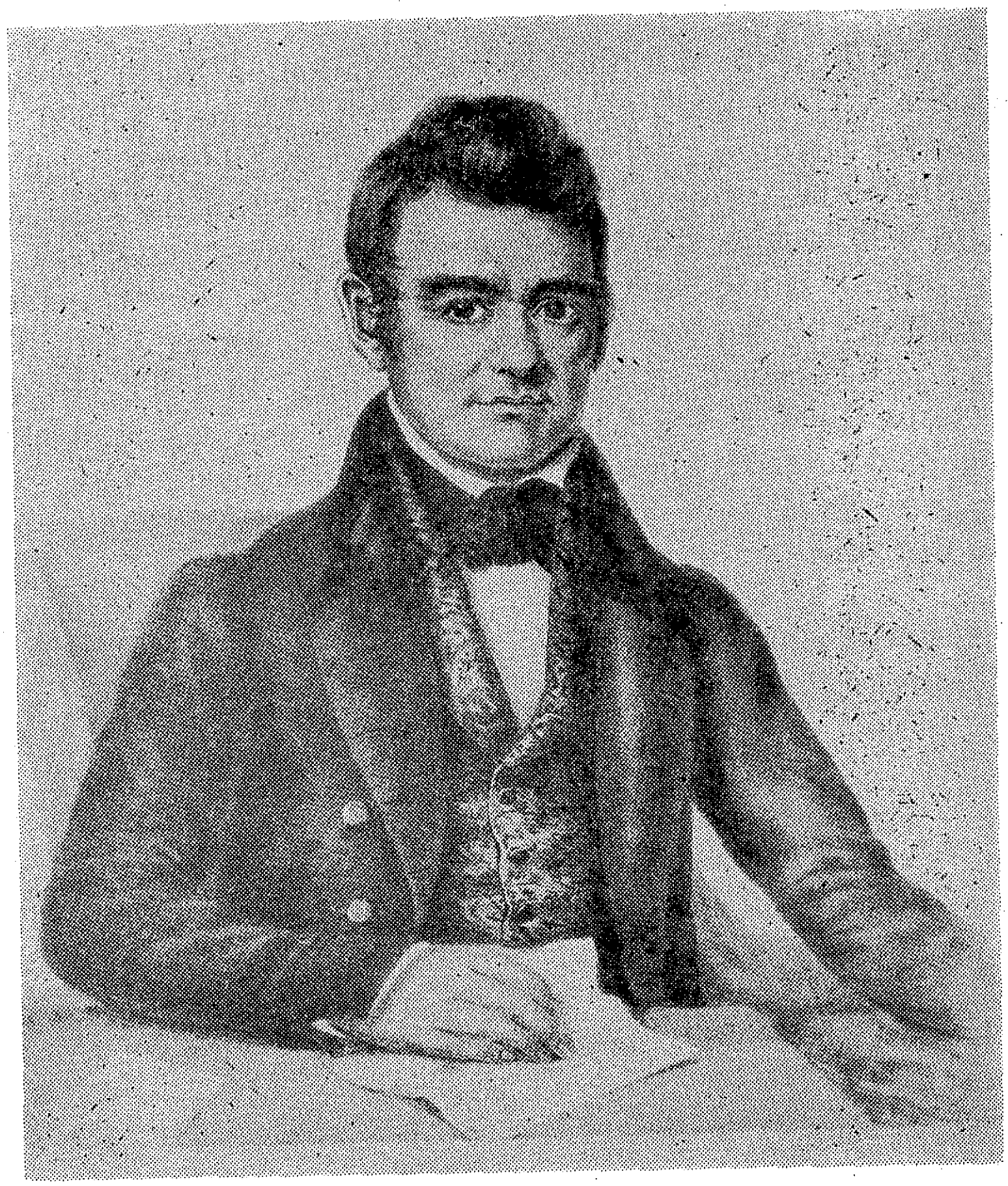
Consultant Lanman, Recollections of Curious Characters, 1881; McKenney and Hall, Indian Tribes, 1854; Halbert in

Trans. Ala. His. Soc., II, 107-119, 1898, and authorities therein cited; Lincecum in Pub. Miss. Hist. Soc., Ix, 115, 1906.

John Ross.—Born in the Cherokee Nation, in North Georgia, October 3, 1790; died in Washington, D. C., August 1, 1866. He began his career in 1809 when sent by his people to Georgia to the Mission in Arkansas. He served as Adjutant of the Cherokee troops who fought with Gen. John Coffee against the Creeks at the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend, March 27, 1814. He was made a member of the National Committee of the Cherokee Council in 1817; was President of the Committee 1819 to 1826. He was Associate Chief of the Cherokees in 1827 and principal chief from 1828 to 1839 when his people were removed West. On arrival in the West he was made Chief of the united nation and held that office until his death.

Bib.: Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees,* 19th Report, B.A.E., 1900, pps. 122-225.

TECUMSEH[1] properly *Tikamthi* or *Tecumtha* 'One who passes across intervening space from one point to another,' i.e. springs (Jones); the name indicates that the owner belongs to the gens of the Great Medicine Panther, or Meteor, hence the interpretations 'Crouching Panther' and Shooting Star'). A celebrated Shawnee chief, born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua on Mad r., about 6 m. s. w. of the present Springfield, Ohio. It was destroyed by the Kentuckians in 1780. His father, who was also a chief, was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. His mother is said to have been by birth a Creek, but this is doubtful. It must be remembered that a considerable body of Shawnee were domiciliated among the Creeks until long after the Revolution. On the death of his father, Tecumseh was placed under the care of an elder brother, who in turn was killed in battle with the whites on the Tennessee frontier in 1788 or 1789. Still another brother was killed by Tecumseh's side at Wayne's



JOHN ROSS

A Cherokee Chief who eventually consented for the removal to the West.

victory in 1794. While still a young man Tecumseh distinguished himself in the border wars of the period, but was noted also for his humane character, evidenced by persuading his tribe to discontinue the practice of torturing prisoners. Together with his brother Tenskatowa the Prophet (q.v.), he was an ardent opponent of the advance of the white man, and denied the right of the Government to make land purchases from any single tribe, on the ground that the territory, especially in the Ohio Valley country, belonged to all tribes in common. On the refusal of the Government to recognize this principle, he undertook the formation of a great confederacy of all western and southern tribes for the purpose of holding the Ohio r. as the permanent boundary between the two races. In pursuance of this object he or his agents visited every tribe in Florida to the head of the Missouri r. While Tecumseh was organizing the work in the S. his plans were brought to diastrous overthrow by the premature battle of Tippecanoe under the direction of the Prophet, Nov.7,1811.On the breaking out of the War of 1812, Tecumseh at once led his forces to the support of the British, and was rewarded with a regular commission as brigadier-general, having under his command some 2,000 warriors of the allied tribes. He fought at Frenchtown, The Raisin, Ft. Meigs, and Ft. Stephenson, and covered Proctor's retreat after Perry's decisive victory on L. Erie, until, declining to retreat farther, he compelled Proctor to make a stand on Thames r., near the present Chatam, Ont. In the bloody battle which ensued the allied British and Indians were completely defeated by Harrison, Tecumseh himself falling in the front of his warriors, Oct. 5, 1813, being then in his 45th year. With presentiment of death he had discarded his general's uniform before the battle and dressed himself in his Indian deerskin. He left one son, the father of Wapameepto, alias Big Jim. From all that is said of Tecumseh in contemporary record, there is no reason to doubt the verdict of Trumbull that he was the most extraordinary Indian character in United States. There is no true portrait of him in existence, the one commonly given as such is Lossing's War of 1812 (1875) and reproduced in Ap-

---

[1]Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 2, p. 714.

pleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography (1894), and Mooney's Ghost Dance (1896), being a composite result based on a sketch made about 1812, on which were mounted his cap, medal, and uniform.

Consult Appleton Cycl. Am. Biog., VI, 1894, Drake Life of Tecumseh, 1841; Eggleston, Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet, 1878; Law; Colonial Hist. Vincennes, 1858; Lossing, War of 1812, 1875; McKenney and Hall, Ind. Trives, I, 1854; Mooney, Ghost Dance Religion, in 14th Rep. B. A. E., pt. II, 1896; Randall, Tecumseh, in Ohio Archaeol. and Hist. Quar., Oct. 1906; Trumbull, Indian Wars, 1851.

(J.M.)

Tenskwatawa (*Ten-skaa-ta-wa-skwate* 'door', *thenui* 'to be open': 'The Open Door; called also Elskwatawa.—Gatchet). The famous 'Shawnee Prophet," twin brother of Tecumseh prominent in Indian and American history immediately before the War of 1812. His original name was Lalawethika, referring to a rattle or similar instrument. According to one account he was noted in his earlier years for stupidity and intoxication; but one day, while lighting his pipe in his cabin, he fell back apparently lifeless and remained in that condition until his friends had assembled for the funeral, when he revived from his trance, quieted their alarm, and announced that he had been conducted to the spirit world. In Nov. 1805, when hardly more than 30 years of age, he called around him his tribesmen and their allies at the ancient capital of Wapakoneta, within the present limits of Ohio, and announce himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. "He declared that he had been taken up to the spirit world and had been permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future——and had seen the misery of evil doers and learned the happiness that awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian god. He then began an earnest exhortation, denouncing the witchcraft practices and medicine juggleries of the tribe, and solemnly warning his hearers that none who had part in such things would ever taste of the

future happiness. The firewater of the whites was poison and accursed; and those who continued its use would be tormented after death with all the pains of fire, while flames would continually issue from their mouths. This idea may have been derived from some white man's teaching or from the Indian practice of torture by fire. The young must cherish and respect the aged and infirm. All property must be in common, according to the ancient law of their ancestors. Indian women must cease to intermarry with white men; the two races were distinct and must remain so. The white man's dress, with his flint and steel, must be discarded for the old-time buckskin and the firestick. More than this, every tool and every custom derived from the whites must be put away, and the Indians must return to the methods the Master of life had taught them. When they should do all this, he promised that they would again be taken into the divine favor, and find the happiness which their fathers had known before the coming of the whites. Finally, in proof of his divine mission, he announced that he had received power to cure all diseases and to arrest the hand of death in sickness or on the battlefield" (Drake, Life of Tecumseh). The movement was therefore a conservative reaction against the breakdown of old customs and modes of life due to white contact, but it had at first no military object, offensive or defensive.

Intense excitement followed the prophet's announcement of his mission, and a crusade commenced against all suspected of dealing in witchcraft. The prophet very cleverly turned the crusade against any who opposed his supernatural claims, but in this he sometimes overreached himself, and lost much of his prestige in consequence.

He now changed his name to Tenskwatawa, significant of the new mode of life which he had come to point out to his people, and fixed his headquarters at Greenville, Ohio, where representatives from the various scattered tribes of the N. W. gathered about him to learn the new doctrines. To establish his sacred character and to dispel the doubts of the unbelievers

---

(1) Handbook of American Indians, Vol. II, pp. 729-730.

he continued to dream dreams and announce wonderful revelations from time to time. A miracle which finally silenced all objectives was the prediction of an eclipse of the sun which took place in the summer of 1806; this was followed by his enthusiastic acceptance as a true prophet and the messenger of the Master of Life. The enthusiam now spread rapidly, and emissiaries traveled from tribe to tribe as far as the Seminole and the Siksika, inculcating the new doctrines. Although this movement took much the same form everywhere, there were local variations in rituals and beliefs. Prominent among these latter was a notion that some great catastrophe would take place within four years, from which only the adherents of the new prophet would escape. In most places the excitement subsided almost as rapidly as it had begun, but not before it had given birth among the Northern tribes to the idea of a confederacy for driving back the white people, one which added many recruits to the British forces in the War of 1812. Its influence among Southern tribes was manifested in the bloody Creek war of 1813. The prophet's own influence, however, and the prestige of the new faith were destroyed by Harrison's victory in the vicinity of the town of Tippecanoe, where he had collected 1,000 to 1,200 converts, Nov. 7, 1811. After the War of 1812 Tenskwatawa received a pension from the British government and resided in Canada until 1826, when he rejoined his tribe in Ohio and the following year moved to the w. side of the Mississippi, near Cape Giradeau, Mo. About 1828 he went with his band to Wyandotte Co., Kans., where he was interviewed by 1832 by George Catlin, who painted his portrait, and where he died, in Nov. 1837, within the limits of the present Argentine. His grave is unmarked and the spot unknown. Although his personal appearance was marred by blindness in one eye, Tenskawatawa possessed a magnetic and powerful personality, and the religious fervor he created among the Indian tribes, unless we except that during the recent "ghose dance" disturbance, has been equaled at no time since the beginning of white contact.

See Mooney in 14th Rep. B.A.E., 1896, and authorities therein cited.

TOGULKI, TUGULKEY or YOUNG TWIN, born probably about 1740 and in Coweta, was the son of Malatchee, the Creek emperor, who was the son of the great chief, Brim. There is no record of the mother of Togulki. On the death of his father in 1755, Sampiaffi, or Stumpee, the white perversion of the name, was appointed the guardian of his nephew Togulki until he should arrive at years of maturity, when he would assume his father's rank of office. The first public appearance of Togulki in the affairs of his people was in the treaty made at Savannah in November, 1757, with Sir Henry Ellis, Governor of the province of Georgia. The council at which were representatives of twenty-one towns of the Upper and the Lower Creeks, was in session two days, October 29 and November 3. On the first day Wolf King of the Upper Creeks acted as speaker for the whole Creek nation. After his address Toguli made a short talk, expressive of his appreciation of the Governor's reception of his people. It is here given in full:

"'Tis not many months (said he) since I was in Charles Town where I met with many marks of esteem and respect from the Governor and his beloved men——I am now received with even stronger tokens of love which as they are proofs of a sincere friendship cannot but rejoice my heart." After Togulki's talk the headmen were all invited to dine with the Governor. The marks of esteem and respect of which Togulki was the recipient from the Governor and other officials of Charlestown were no doubt prompted by their memory of his father, who had ever been popular with the people of Carolina. It must have been soon after the treaty of Savannah that Togulki was chosen as the Emperor of the Creeks, and was also commissioned as such by the Governor of Georgia. In the summer of 1759, Edmund Atkin, the Superintendent of Indian affairs of the Southern district, came to the Lower Creek town of Cusseta. Soon after his arrival with his escort, it was agreed by the chiefs to go and shake hands with him and learn the object of his visit. But when they appeared before him, he abruptly asked them what they wanted, and told them to go about their business, and when he wanted he would send for them. The chiefs were mortified at this rude reception. Though greatly provoked. Togul-

ki nevertheless resolved to make another attempt at a conversation with Atkin. He accordingly forcibly passed the sentinel and entered the house where the King's beloved man was and offered his hand, which Atkin scornfully refused to take. Exasperated at this affront, Togulki told the agent that he had shaken hands with the Governors of Carolina and Georgia, and he wished to know if he, Atkin, was greater than they. To this Atkin replied that there was a Governor of Carolina and a Governor of Georgia, but that he, Atkin, was greater than they, as he was the King's own mouth. He then accused Togulki of being a Frenchman, that, is, as in the French interest. Tokulki replied that he was no Frenchman, nor did he intend becoming one, but rather than stay in his own nation and be subject to such ill treatment by the agent, and to avoid all other uneasiness, he would go off on a ramble in the woods. Togulki was as good as his word. He accordingly went to his uncle Sampiaff, who was hunting on Broad River, thence with his uncle's son to the Cherokee Nation in search of some stray horses. In consequence of some misrepresentations in regard to his visit to the Cherokee Nation, in the following October, he, his uncle Sampiaffi and son, with some other Creeks visited Governor Ellis in Savannah in order to clear himself from these misrepresentations. They related to the Governor the story of Atkin's behavior in Cusseta, and closed their talk with the request that he be immediately recalled thence to prevent furthr mischief. Governor Ellis and the Indians had hardly finished their talk when an express arrived with the news of the assault upon Atkin at Tuckabatchee. It was thought prudent for the present not to mention the matter to the Indians. The Governor further stated to the Indians that he was glad to hear that the rumor relative to their visit to the Cherokee Nation was absolutely false; and that they saw their own interests so well as to persist in an inviolable friendship, and other attachments to the English. In closing he asked them if they had anything more to say. After much irrelevant talk the Indians finally came to a grievance which they had with the Virginia people who had settled high upon their hunting grounds and who were killing all the deer. They wished these people to be removed and a paper to be given to them to show that it must be done. The

Governor postponed his reply to this grievance until the next day, when he again held a council with them. After some general talk the Governor at last told the Indians of the outrage upon Atkin in Tuckabatchee. The Creeks were greatly perturbed at this news. After some comments on the affair, the Governor told the Indians that the Cherokees were on the point of declaring war and there was danger of the Creeks being involved in it. The only way to prevent this was for the Creeks to resolve to keep the path to the white people clear by engaging to resent any injuries done to the people of Georgia by the Cherokees, and to signify the same to them immediately. And as the people of Carolina would likely soon be in open war with the Cherokees, they must caution their people not to go into that province lest they be taken for enemies. As the matter was urgent, and concerned both the white people and the Creeks, the Governor requested the Indians to send runners immediately, some to their own nation, and some to the Cherokee, to inform them of their resolve. In this way the Creeks would have peace, a good trade, free communications with the whites ,and no interruption on their hunting grounds, for the white people should be removed from it. The Creek auditors highly approved of the Governor's talk, and said that they would send runners immediately to their own people and to the Cherokees. This point settled, the Governor gave them some presents and dismissed them completely satisfied. After their departure he issued a proclamation ordering all persons illegally settled in the back part of the province near the Indian's hunting grounds to remove from those lands by the first of the coming January. The Creeks, by following Governor Ellis' counsel, doubtless saved themselves from being involved in the war which very soon after broke out between the Cherokees and the Carolinans, which continued until the Cherokees were subdued by the successive campaigns of Colonels Montgomery and Grant in 1760 and 1761, and there was again peace on the frontiers. There is no record of Togulki until the great Indian congress in Augusta in November, 1763, which he attended with his uncle Sampiaffi. Here he resigned his English commission as Emporer. His name does not appear one of the signers of the treaty made at the Congress. Six weeks after the Congress, on

December 23, 1763, fourteen people—they being women and children, were killed by a party of Creek Indians in the Long Cane settlement above Ninety-six. When the news of this deed came to the ears of Togulki, he with another Indian, at once went to see George Galphin to inform him who were the guilty parties, and to request him to write out a talk from him in relation thereto to governor Wright. Togulki's talk as recorded by Galphin runs as follows: "As soon as I was acquainted in the woods who the Persons were that had killed the White People, I came immediately to acquaint my Friend Galphin of it, that he might write down and acquaint both Governors and the beloved Man of it, and I have left this Talk with him to send down.

"The Fellows that have done the Murder are seven that have been among the Cherokees these four or five years and helped them against the White People—The People are all going, by the time this Moon is gone they will be all at Home, and there we shall have a meeting of all the Heads of the Nation, and before the next moon is done you shall hear from us. We hope this will not make a general war if the murderers can be killed, there is two of my own Towns People concerned in it, all the Head Men are much concerned about it, and hope it will be Strait yet, and I desire that you will be up on your Guard on this River, for they have taken the Cherokee Talk, and that they will kill all the White People where ever they find them. And in case any of your People come up with them we hope they will kill them. There were three of our People came up with them and were going to kill them, but they were an overmatch for them, and they went in search of Abraham and his Gang to help them. They dare not go to the Nation, for they say now they must be killed, and they will do all the Damage they can before they are killed: it is the Talk of the Head Men in the woods to forewarn any of the Young People to join them. They say it is the Young Warrior's Talk of Istatoe, and if he is not concerned he will order his People to kill them: and it is my Desire

that you will write down and have them killed, as they harbor in his Nation and have Wives there–

"Tugulkey alias Young Twin.

"P. S. The Fellows that have done the Murder are
"2. Cussetaws.
"2 Cowetaws.
"2 Tallissees.
"1 Oakfuskee."

From the lack of records it cannot be stated whether the Creeks ever put to death the murderers of the Long Canes people. The talk of Togulki shows that he personally was in favor of inflicting this extreme penalty upon them. His talk is the last record we have of him and hence we may well suppose that his after life was uneventful.

REFERENCES—*The Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. vii, pp. 644-648, 655-667; *Ibid,* vol. 8, pp. 160-170; *The State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 11, 1777 and Supplement, 1730-1776; *The Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. 9, pp. 115, 116.

WEATHERFORD, WILLIAM, Indian chief and planter, was born near Coosada, in 1765, and died March 4, 1824, on his plantation in Baldwin County; son of Charles and Sehoy (McGillivray) Weatherford, the former a Scotch trader who came from Georgia and established himself on the bank of the Alabama River, built a store and constructed a race-track, and brought blooded horses into the Indian country, the latter who, prior to her marriage to Mr. Weatherford, was first married to Col. Tate, a British officer at Fort Toulouse; grandson of a Tuckabatchee chief and Sehoy Marchand, who lived at the Holy Ground, the latter who afterward married Lochlan McGillivray, a Scotch adventurer and trader to whom she bore three children, Alexander McGillivray, who became a great chief, a daughter who married LeClere Milfort, a French officer, who resided in the Indian nation twenty years as a war chief and on the death

of his wife returned to Paris to become a brigade general under Napoleon, and another daughter who married Benjamin Durant, a Huguenot trader from South Carolina, and became the common mother of the family of that name in Baldwin which gave the name to Durant's Bend in Dallas County; Great-grandson of Capt. Marchand, a French officer in command of Fort Toulouse on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, who was murdered at the fort in 1822 by his mutinous men, and his Indian wife, Sehoy, a Muscogee princess of the noble tribe of the Wind. The Cornells, Tates, Baileys, Monicos, Tunstalls, Durants and Weatherfords are all connected by ties of consanguinity. Opothleyoholo was a Cornell. William Weatherford cared little for education, refusing to learn read or write, yet he acquired a good knowledge of the English language. He was a proficient horseman and athlete, and gained great influence among the Indians by his eloquent speeches and his wild life. He established a large plantation on the Alabama River, in what is now Lowndes County. Influenced by the talents and prowess of Tecumseh, he became convinced of the necessity of checking the encroachments of the whites. He went to consult his brothers on Little River as to his course, and was dissuaded by them from countenancing the Indian war, but when he returned to his home, the war party had been to his plantation, had taken his negroes and stock to the Hickory Ground, and threatened to retain them and kill him if he joined the peace party. He entered into their scheme and took part in the massacre of Fort Mims, leading the Indian forces to the assault. He was unremitting in his efforts to make the attack a victory, but tried in vain to prevent the subsequent butchery. On his return from that expedition, he was made "tustenuggee," or war chief, of the tribe. During the various engagements of the war, among them those of Talladega, Hillabe, the Holy Ground, and of Tohopeka or the Horse Shoe, called Weatherford's "Thirty Battles," some four thousand warriors were killed. He led his men in the fight at Econachaca and when they fled, made his famous plunge from a bluff ten or fifteen feet in height into the Alabama River, and escaped. Ater the battle of Tohopeka, "Red Eagle", as Weatherford was known, went to Jackson's tent and surrendered himself, demanding that the Indian women and children be brought in from the

woods and protected. Because of his courage, Gen. Jackson protected him from the infuriated relatives of the victims of Fort Mims and treated him with courtesy. He was with Jackson for a year at the Hermitage, then returned to Monroe County, collected the remains of his former wealth, and moved with his family to Little River, where in a civilized home, he remained as a peaceful farmer until his death. Married: (1) to May Moniac, daughter of Sam Moniac, who was an Indian half-breed, and lived at the Holy Ground; (2) to May Stiggins. Among his children was: Charles, b. 1800, deceased, m. Elizabeth Stiggins, children, Charles, William and Elizabeth. He has descendants in Baldwin and Monroe Counties. Last residence: Baldwin County.

WOLF KING, Creek Chief, lived in Muklasa, an Upper Creek town. The first notice of this chief is in 1749, when he appears under a somewhat comical aspect. At some time in that year, the noted author and trader, James Adair, was traveling on official business from the Chickasaw nation to Charleston. One day, about ten o'clock in the morning, somewhere on the trading path between Flint River and Okmulgee, he met a party of hostile Shawnees, from whom he managed to escape. About sun set on the same day he met another party of Indians, whom he at first supposed were also Shawnees. But, he writes,—"I discovered them to be a considerable body of the Muskohge headmen, returning home with presents from Charles-Town, which they carried on their backs. The wolf king (as the traders termed him) our old steady friend of the Amooklasah Town, near the late Alebahma, came foremost, harnessed like a jack-ass, with a saddle on his back, well girt over one shoulder, and across under the other. We seemed equally glad to meet each other, they, to hear how affairs stood in their country, as well as on the trading path; and I to find, that instead of bitter-hearted foes, they were friends, and would secure my retreat from any pursuit that might happen." Apart from his pleasant meeting with Adair, the first noteworthy appearance of Wolf King in history is at the treaty made by the Creeks with Sir Henry Ellis,

Governor of Georgia, and his board of council in Savannah, on November 3, 1757. The Governor had about August 1, sent Joseph Wright, a man familiar with the Creek language, into the Creek nation, which was then in ill mood, to invite the chiefs of the Upper and the Lower Creeks to a conference to be held with them in Savannah. There the Indians would receive the King's presents, and at the same time, an effort would be made to remove the ill impressions they had conceived of the English. Wright was successful in his mission in persuading many to go to Savannah. The Indians arrived on October 27, and were received with imposing ceremonies and with the firing of the guns of the fort. They represented twenty-one towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. They were formally conducted into the council chamber and introduced to the governor, who holding out his hands, thus addressed them: "My friends and Brothers, behold my Hands and Arms; our Common Enemies, the French, have told you they are red to the elbows; here view them; do they speak the Truth? Let your own eyes witness. You see they are white, and could you see my Heart, you would find it as pure, but very warm and true to you, my Friends. The French tell you whoever shakes my Hand will immediately be struck with disease and die; if you believe this lying foolish talk, don't touch me; if you do not, I am ready to embrace you." Whereupon all the Indians approached and shook the Governor's hand, declaring that the French had lied and deceived them in this manner. The Indians then seating themselves, the Governor continued his talk, in which he first expressed the hope that they had left their brethren well in the nation, and that they were well themselves, and then referred to the hardships they must have endured in their long journey. That they had been told by bad people in the nation that the English had spread all over the Indian hunting grounds, and they could now see the falsity of this assertion. That it was only the lands that lie on the water's edge, that the English valued, where their ships could come with goods and carry away the skins sold by the Indians and the productions raised by the English out of the ground. That during their stay with him, it would be his particular care that they should be well supplied with everything

the plantations afforded. That he had a large home erected where they could enjoy each other's company and be protected from the weather. Again warning them against the French and their emissaries, he told them that as they were very much fatigued he would not detain them; but after having rested and refreshed themselves, he would meet them again and deliver to them the King's talk. Meanwhile, he advised that they get their guns and saddles repaired, which he had ordered his workmen to do, if they wished it. Again he expressed his satisfaction at seeing so many of his friends, under the same roof with himself. Wolf King, as speaker of both the Upper and the Lower Towns, arose and responded as follows to the Governor's talk: "We have heard many good talks of you in our own country which were not lies, and I think myself extremely happy and thank God that this day affords us an opportunity of seeing you face to face—I and my countrymen have been accustomed to visit the Governors of the English Provinces but never had more satisfaction than we feel on this occasion. 'Tis true we experienced great hardships on our journey from the back lands being uncultivated, but as soon as we reached the Homes of our Friends, we received plenty of everything, and the kindest treatment possible. The length of our journey has greatly fatigued us. We therefore approve of taking the refreshments and the other steps you recommend to us; after which we shall hear the Great King's Talk." Wolf King's talk was followed by a short one from Togulki, after which the Governor invited the headmen to dine with him in his own house, where they were delighted with the kind and friendly manner with which they were entertained. After taking a long and thorough rest, the representatives of a hundred and twenty-one towns, with, besides upwards of their countrymen, on November 3, were with the same ceremonies formally conducted again into the council chamber. After being seated, the Governor opened the conference with a short talk, and then read to the Indians a paper entitled, "A Letter from the great King George to his beloved Children of the Creek Nations." The letter was interpreted and explained, paragraph by paragraph, and at every period the Indians expressed aloud their approval. The Governor then

resumed his talk, in which he told the Indians that they had now heard with their own ears the words of the Great King, how he loved them and entertained no suspicion of their obedience and friendship. He then detailed at some length the advantages the Creek Indians, "the best beloved" of all the Indian nations, would have in their friendship and alliance with the English, who could do more for them than the French. After a reply by Sampiaffi, the treaty was produced, and thoroughly interpreted and explained. It was approved in every particular by the headmen, who then put their hands and seals to it before a numerous audience.

When the last man had signed, Wolf King, who was one of the signers, desired that he might be heard, which being granted he turned to his people and made a short and vehement talk: "All of you have this Day freely confirmed your ancient Treaties with the English by a new one, in which some fresh articles are inserted; I know that it has been customary for you to deny in your own Towns the Contracts you have made in those of the White People; but remember how cheerfully and readily you all joined in this Act; which of you then will dare to deny it in your public square hereafter? If there is one of you that can be so base, I am the man that will call him a Liar, and the rest of you shall confirm it." The council now arose and the headman, by the Governor's invitation, attended him to his house to dinner.

Wolf King, the chiefs of Cometa, and perhaps several others received copies of the King's talk to carry home and which could be read and interpreted in the public squares of their towns. History is silent as to the day on which the presents were distributed, and their quantity and quality.

A pleasing episode in the life of Wolf King occurred in May, 1760. On probably May 15 as he and his people were on the point of going to a ball play news came to them of the massacre of the traders the day before in some of the Upper Towns, and that those that escaped the massacre were seeking places of refuge. He at once received a number of the fugitives into his own house and treated them with the greatest kindness. Others were brought down to him by the chief of Okchaiyi. Wolf

King had only forty warriors in his town, a small force with which to protect them against the large numbers of Indians in the French interest, and under the thorough control of the Great Mortar. He told the traders of the situation, supplied those among them that were unarmed with guns and ammunition, and then conducted them all into a place in a swamp, where he said, they could maintain themselves by their own valor against the French and the mad Indians. The traders fortified the place so well that their enemies feared to attack them. Wolf King, in the meantime, secretly and at great risk to himself, supplied them with food, and after the lapse of some two weeks sent them to a friendly Lower Creek town where were gathered other fugitive traders from different places in the nation. This action of Wolf King, with his slender band of warriors in protecting the traders against his numerous enraged countrymen, shows that he was a brave and high-souled man. About six weeks after the massacre, Governor Ellis, in view to the protection of the traders in the future, sent Joseph Wright into the Creek nation with a written talk, in which he said that he expected to open trade with the Creeks as soon as it could be done with safety, but first the headmen in every town must meet and choose some powerful person who would take charge of the traders and be answerable for their persons and goods, otherwise the traders would not risk their lives nor the merchants their goods amongst them; and for this protection the traders must pay a yearly consideration to their respective guardians. Although Wolf King and his people were and had always been friendly to the English, as soon as he received the Governor's talk, he appointed suitable persons in all the towns he controlled to be guardians of the traders and their goods. Wolf King's action in saving the fugitive traders gave him great consideration with the Governors of Georgia and South Carolina, the latter sending him a written talk and inviting him to visit him in Charleston. Early in 1761 a talk from the Mohawks was received by Governor Wright, who sent it to the Creek nation by Wolf King, who, it seems, was in Savannah at that time. The talk seems to have been a friendly letter to Governor Wright and the Creek nation. On April 30, 1761, a council of twelve

Upper Creek towns was held at Muklasa. Wolf King here replied to the Mohawk talk in the following letter to Governor Wright: "The Governor of each Province desired me to have this talk in the Upper and Lower Nation, and for me to hold fast by the English and they to hold fast by us and now our meetings are over and done as I wanted, and its agreed to hold fast the English both here and the lower towns. When I was in Georgia and Carolina there was many bad reports about this Nation, now I am come home I see 'tis otherwise, and we hope everything will remain quiet. We have not thrown away the Governor's talk, and we shake hands with them, and all the towns hold fast by the English." In October, 1763, Wolf King went to Pensacola to see the military authorities in regard to the land there ceded for the English garrison, which was the old Spanish cession. An evidence of his presence there appears in Major Farmar's contingent account, showing that on October 21, 1763, Lieutenant Hilton paid for Wolf a large wine bill and a bill for mending guns, all amounting to two pounds, three shillings and two pence. From Pensacola Wolf King must have gone direct to the great congress which was held in Augusta in November. He was the main factor on the side of the Creeks, in fixing the boundary line there agreed upon between the Creeks and the English. His name appears appended to the treaty as The Wolf. This name and Wolf King were often used interchangeably or indifferently. Wolf King had such a clear understanding of what should be the English interest at this troublous time that he advised Major Farmar to defer relieving Fort Toulouse, until he, Wolf King, should inform him of the disposition of the Indians in the French interest who had not yet resolved upon a course of action. His advice was heeded. Although a firm and unswerving friend of the English, Wolf King evidently feared encroachments upon the lands of his people from Pensacola. The Creeks claimed all the lands for more than sixty miles above Pensacola, except the small plat granted the Spaniards around the fort, now occupied by the English. At some time in the winter of 1763-1764, while on a visit to Pensacola with a large band of his warriors, he intimated to Major Forbes, the commandant, that if the English should settle

upon these lands, war would be declared against them by the Creeks.

Wolf King did not stand alone in this matter, for a general uneasiness continued to prevail among the Creeks in regard to possible encroachments upon their lands until the meeting of the congress in Pensacola, where everything was satisfactorily settled by a cession to the English. The evidence is lacking of the presence of Wolf King at this Congress. His name does not appear among the signers of the treaty, unless he signed under his Indian name, which has not been preserved.

The last notice of Wolf King is a brief reference to him in a letter written by Will Struthers, a trader to Governor Johnstone, May 20, 1766. Struthers calls him the old Wolf King, an expression which shows that he was then advanced in years.

REFERENCES.—Adair's *American Indians* (1775), pp. 263, 277; *The Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. 7, pp. 648, 657-668, 704, 734; *Ibid,* vol. 8, pp. 333, 467, 469, 470, 542, 543; *Ibid,* vol. ix, pp. 148, 149; *The State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 11, pp. 160, 166, 203; *Mississippi Provincial Archives,* vol. i, pp. 12, 68, 72, 114, 142, 365, 414, 424, 460, 521.

YOHOLOMICCO, *Creek Chief,* born about 1788, died in 1838. Nothing has been recorded as to his parents, his early life, nor when he became chief of Yufala and Speaker of the Creek Nation. There were two towns named Yufala in the Upper Creek country; the one, of which Yoholomicco was chief, was situated on the west bank of the Tallapoosa, two miles below Okfuskee. Yoholomicco served with General McIntosh in the Creek war of 1813 and bore an honorable part in all the battles in which the friendly Creeks were engaged against their insurgent countrymen. He was delegate from his nation to Washington in 1826. He was greatly instrumental in negotiating the treaty of November 15, 1827, by which the Creeks ceded the last of their lands in Georgia. As Speaker of the Council

YOHOLOMICCO

A Creek Chief from the Upper Nation.

convened to hear the propositions of the government on that occasion, his demeanor is thus described by Colonel Thomas L. McKenny, there present representing the government, and a most competent eye witness: "Yoholo Micco explained the object of the mission, in a manner so clear and pointed as not to be easily forgotten by those who heard him. He rose with the unembarrassment of one, who felt the responsibility of his high office, was familiarly versed in its duties, and satisfied of his own ability to discharge it with success. He was not unaware of the delicacy of the subject, nor of the excitable state of the minds to which his arguments was to be addressed, and his harangue was artfully suited to the occasion. With the persuasive manner of an accomplished orator, and in the silver tones of a most flexible voice, he placed the subject before his savage audience in all its details and bearings——making his several points with clearness, and in order, and drawing out his deductions in the lucid and conclusive manner of a finished rhetorician."

On account of his advocating the adoption by his people of the plans proposed by the government and by individuals to promote the civilization of the Creeks, Yoholomicco finally became unpopular, and was deposed from his chieftianship, the year not known. He was consistent in his private life in following the ways of civilized life, which he had vainly urged upon his people. He gave his children the best education the country afforded, and brought his sons up to the pursuits of civilized life. His example was followed by one of his married daughters, the wife of a Yufala chief, who gave all her children liberal educations. Yoholomicco is represented as a man of a mild, generous disposition. He died on his way to the new home of the Creeks from the fatigues incident to the emigration.

REFERENCES.——McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* (1842), vol. iii, pp. 17, 18; *Handbook of American Indians* (1910), part 2, p. 998.

INDIAN WARS

CREEK INDIAN WAR, 1813-14. The fast increasing number of settlers in the Indian lands resultant from the 1805 Treaty which permitted a path through the Nation, together with the disturbances caused by the visit of Tecumseh, the Shawnee, to the Creek Country in 1811, were the influences responsible for the war between the Indians and the whites. This trouble began with the Burnt Corn, Monroe County, skirmish July 27, 1813, to be followed by the massacre at Fort Mims in Baldwin County on August 30, 1813, and ended with the surrender of William Weatherford to General Andrew Jackson on April 14, 1814. The massacre at Fort Mims, which was led by Weatherford though he opposed it, wrought fear and consternation among the settlers in South Alabama. The news of this terrible atrocity quickly spread and reached General Andrew Jackson at Nashville, who called his division of West Tennessee volunteers into active service to proceed against the Indians. Governor Willie Blount by authority of the Tennessee Legislature promised to subsist the 5,000 Tennessee volunteers who answered the cry for help. General Jackson's campaign covered a period from October 4, 1813 to March 27, 1814, when he fought a decisive engagement against the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend.

Sympathy for the settlers in the Mississippi Territory was aroused in Georgia, and the Governor of that State directed General John Floyd, in command of the Militia, to take 1500 men (Georgia Militia and friendly Indians) against the savages West of the Chattahoochee and along the Tallapoosa River. By orders of Governor David Holmes of the Mississippi Territory and General Thomas Flournoy, commander of the Seventh United States Military District in the South, Brigadier General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne of the Mississippi Militia brought his volunteer and militia troops to Fort Stoddert to the relief of the harrassed settlers in the Tombigbee and Tensas settlements. General Claiborne arrived at Mount Vernon on the Mobile River July 30, 1813, and immediately dispatched detachments

to stockaded posts in Clarke and surrounding counties at which points the people had gathered for protection. After the massacre at Fort Mims, Fort Sinquefield, McGrew's and other places, Claiborne was finally permitted to proceed on the offensive into the Nation. He crossed the Alabama River, established Fort Claiborne, marched overland toward the Nation, established Fort Deposit in Lowndes County, and engaged the Creeks at the Holy Ground, Lowndes County, December 23, 1813.

General Floyd's troops built a line of posts from Fort Mitchell on the Chattahoochee River to Fort Decatur (which was completed after the campaign, by direction of Colonel Homer V. Milton commanding the Third United States Infantry and North Carolina volunteers) on the Coosa River. General Floyd engaged the Indians at Autossee and Calebee in two decisive battles.

Jackson's Tennesseeans engaged the largest group of Upper Creeks yet encountered at Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend) on the Tallapoosa River March 27, 1814, and by that engagement, in which the Cherokee Indians, led by Whale, and friendly Lower Creeks under Command of Major William McIntosh served with Jackson, broke the backbone of the Creek Confederacy and dictated the surrender three weeks subsequent at Fort Jackson at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, on the site of old Fort Toulouse.

Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, born in Ohio, but whose parents resided until a short time before his birth at Sawonogi in the present Montgomery County, appeared in the Upper Creek Nation in the Summer of 1811, and attempted to incite the natives against the white settlers. Some of the towns refused to be influenced by Tecumseh, who was thought to have been sent by the British to arouse the natives and thereby insure the success of the British arms. Many of Jackson's volunteers, and some of the North and South Carolinians, who served under Colonel Milton and Lieutenant Colonel Gilbert C. Russell, as

well as the Georgians, were with Jackson in the last battle of the war with the English January 8, 1815 at New Orleans.

AUTOSSEE, BATTLE OF. An engagement of the Creek Indian War of 1813-14, between the American forces under Gen. John Floyd in command of the Georgia Militia, and the Creeks, fortified in the Indian town of Autossee, south of the Tallapoosa River, near the mouth of Calebee Creek, in Macon County. It was fought November 29, 1813, and represents the principal contribution of Georgia to the defense of the Mississippi Territory in the Creek War.

In obedience to a call from the Federal Government, Gov. David Mitchell of Georgia assembled a large force of militia. These were placed under Brig. Gen. John Floyd. After much delay they reached the Chattahoochee, where they built Fort Mitchell. Here they were reinforced by 400 friendly Indians, under Wm. McIntosh and Mad Dog's Son (not Mad Dragon's Son). The successes of Gen. Jackson in the Coosa Valley had driven numbers of Indians from that quarter. Many of these had joined other hostiles at Autossee.

Gen. Floyd left Fort Mitchell on November 23, 1813, for an attack. He had 950 white troops and 400 Indians. Reaching the vicinity on the morning of November 29th, he assaulted the place, and routed the enemy in an engagement lasting about three hours. The Indians fought fiercely, but lost about 200 killed. The town was set on fire, and about 400 houses, many of excellent Indian architecture and filled with articles of value, were burned. The losses of the Georgians were 11 killed and 54 wounded. Several friendly Indians were killed and wounded. After burying his dead, Gen. Floyd began the return March to Fort Mitchell. He had hardly started, however, before the Indians fell upon his rear, but they were soon dispersed.

REFERENCES.—Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 557-559; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*

(1854), pp. 290-291; Brackenridge, *History of the Late War* (1844), p. 191; Brewer, *Alabama* (1872), p. 338.

BASHI SKIRMISH. An ambush, by Creek Indians, on Bashi Creek, Clarke County, in October, 1813. Col. William McGrew and about 25 mounted men had set out from the vicinity of Fort Easley and Turner's Fort to protect the exposed frontier from depredations, in the absence of the owners, who with their families had fled to the hastily constructed defenses. As they reached a spot about five miles east of Wood's Bluff, near the present Linden and Coffeeville road, about a half mile southwest of the Bashi bridge, they were surprised by a party of concealed Creek warriors. While they fought desperately, the attack was fatal to Col. McGrew, Edmund Miles, and Jesse and David Griffin, brothers. On the morning following, the Colonel's horse reached St. Stephens, 30 miles distant, his saddle bloody, and one pistol missing from the holster.

Some days later Gen. F. L. Claiborne entered the region, and finding the bodies of all except David Griffin, he gave them burial with military honors. Although several days were spent in search of Indians, little was accomplished, and he retired to Pine Level, the present town of Jackson. In one of Col. Claiborne's skirmishes Capt. Wm. Bradbury was killed. This officer, as also Col. McGrew, had participated in the Burnt Corn Fight.

REFERENCES.—Pickett, *Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), p. 560; Ball, *Clarke County* (1882), pp. 162-163; and Halbert and Ball, *Creek War* (1885), pp. 219-222.

BURNT CORN FIGHT. The first engagement between the pioneer settlers in the southern part of what is now Alabama, and the hostile Creek Indians, during the Creek Indian War of 1813-14. It occurred July 27, 1813, near Burnt Corn Creek, in the northern part of the present Escambia County.

In the early summer of 1813, large numbers of disaffected Creeks assembled at the Holy Ground on the Alabama River. In July, about 30 warriors left the place, under the command of Peter McQueen, Jim Boy, and Josiah Francis, for Pensacola. There they expected to secure ammunition for the impending war. On the way some hostile acts were committed. It was subsequently learned, through spies, that they had procured 300 pounds of powder and a quantity of lead from Gov. Manique.

On information reaching the Tombigbee settlements, Col James Caller, senior militia officer of Washington County, at once organized an expedition to intercept the Creeks on their return to the nation. At the head of three small companies, Col. Caller crossed the Tombigbee, July 25, and on his march across Clarke County and beyond the Alabama, he received reinforcements, so that finally his entire command numbered about 180 men, composed of white men, half-breeds, and friendly Indians. On the night of July 26, he camped near the present Bellville, and the next morning took the line of march down the Pensacola trail.

REFERENCES.—Meek, *Romantic passages in Southwestern history* (1857), pp. 244-246; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 521-525; Claiborne, *Life and Times of Sam Dale* (1860), pp. 70-82; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War* (1895), pp. 125-142; *Alabama Historical Reporter,* June, 1880; Riley, *Conecuh County,* (1881), p. 16.

CANOE FIGHT. An episode of the Creek Indian War, November 12, 1813. Following Fort Mims massacre, numerous depredations were made by Indians throughout the entire settled sections of the country, temporary forts were erected, and a general unrest prevailed. However, events were slowly maturing for relief. Among the settlers themslves, brave and adventurous spirits rallied the people, and many thrilling examples of daring are recorded. Capt. Sam Dale organized a scout-

ing party, and set out from Fort Madison toward the river to drive out the Indians. During the first day many traces of the latter had been found about the abandoned plantations. The next day the party marched to Brazier's Landing (now French's), and at night crossed over to the eastern bank. Jerry Austill and some others were directed to row the canoes up stream. He reached Randon's plantation ahead of those on the shore. As they advanced Capt. Dale and his company encountered a number of Indians, who retreated under a hot fire. The entire command then crossed to the west bank, except Capt. Dale and eleven others. Just as they were preparing something to eat, a canoe of eleven warriors swept down the stream apparently with the intention of joining a number of other Indians, in order to attack from the rear. Dale and some of his party opened fire upon the boatload of savages, but without injury. About this time two of the Indians swam ashore higher up. One was killed by James Smith. Dale then ordered the larger canoe brought across. Eight men started over, but turned back on seeing the number in the Indian canoe. This exasperated Dale, and he sprang into the smaller boat followed by Smith and Jerry Austill. A negro of the party, named Caesar, was already in the boat, and by Dale's direction, he rapidly paddled the canoe towards the Indians. Within twenty yards the Americans rose for a broadside, but only Smith's gun fired. Caesar courageously pushed the boat alongside the Indians, and bravely held them together during the rest of the engagement. Instantly both parties were in a fierce combat, mainly with clubbed guns. Because of the crowded boat, the Indians were a little at a disadvantage although they fought viciously. Austill struck at the chief with his gun, but without effect. At the same moment the clubbed rifles of Smith and Dale came down on his head causing instant death. The rifle barrel in hand, Dale fought with demon-like fury. Austill and Smith with equal valor, and although they were badly bruised and had several contused wounds, the three white men and Caesar all escaped, while their nine antagonists were destroyed. One Indian had fallen into the river during the combat, and the others were then thrown over-board, to the great joy of the

other members of the party on shore. The expedition then marched to Cornell's Ferry, but later returned to Fort Madison.

REFERENCES.—Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Owen ed., 1900)), pp. 560-573; Brewer, *Alabama* (1873), p. 435; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War of* 1813 *and* 1814, (1895), pp. 229-240; Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (1910), p. 422; *Alabama Historical Reporter*, Aug. 1884, vol. 2; *Acts*, 1821, p. 115.

CALEBEE, BATTLE OF. An engagement between the Georgia militia, under Gen. Floyd, and the Creek Indians, January 27, 1814, on Calabee Creek, about 7 miles from the present town of Tuskegee, Macon County. After the battle of Autossee, November 29, 1813, and his retreat to Fort Mitchell, Gen. Floyd remained inactive about 6 weeks. On receiving necessary supplies, and recruiting his forces, with about 1,227 men, a company of cavalry, and 400 friendly Indians, he set out on another campaign. He moved along the line of the old federal road, establishing Fort Bainbridge in Russell, and Fort Hull in the Macon County. News was received that the Indians were fortifying themselves in large numbers at Hoithlewallee. On January 26 he encamped in a pine forest, upon the high land bordering Calebee Swamp. The hostile Indians were on the same date encamped in what was subsequently known as McGirth's Still House branch. Here they held a council. Their numbers had increased to 1,800 warriors, probably the largest force assembled during the Creek war. Many were without guns, and were armed with war-clubs, bows and arrows. William Weatherford was present and addressed the council. He proposed that the Indians wait until Gen. Floyd's army had crossed Calebee Creek. Weatherford's advice was rejected, and he left the council, and started back to Polecat Spring. About an hour and a half before daybreak on the morning of January 27, the Indians stealthily approached the camp, fired upon the sentinels and made a fierce rush upon the main body. A general action immediately followed. Although surprised, Gen. Floyd's troops were quickly organized, and with the aid of the cannon repuls-

ed them. The Indians made desperate efforts to capture the cannon, and in consequence the artillerymen suffered very severely. While the redsticks were thus bravely fighting, the friendly Indians with the exception of Capt. Timpochee Barnard and his Uchees, acted in a cowardly way. About daylight Gen. Floyd reorganized his lines, and ordered a general charge. The Indians gave way before the bayonet, and they were pursued through the swamp by the cavalry, by some of the rifle companies and by some of the friendly Indians. The Indian losses are not known, but 70 bodies were found upon the field. The American loss was 17 killed, and 132 wounded. The friendly Indians last 5 killed and 15 wounded.

The unexpected engagement on the Calebee thwarted Gen. Floyd's designs against Hoithlewallee. He thereupon retreated to Fort Hull, in which he left a small garrison. He then returned to Fort Mitchell. After the withdrawal of Gen. Floyd the Creeks took possession of the battlefield. The retreat and abandonment of the campaign gave the Indians the impression that they had won the victory.

REFERENCES.—Russell, *History of the Late War* (1815), p. 242; Brackenridge, *History of the Late War* (1844), p. 193; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia* (1855), pp. 290-292; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 584-586; Woodward, *Reminiscences of the Creek Indians* (1859), pp. 101, 102; *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 30, 1905.

EMUCKFAU, BATTLE OF. A battle between Gen. Andrew Jackson's forces and the Creek Indians, fought on January 22nd, at or near the Indian villege of Imukfa. Following the Battle of Talladega, November 9, 1813, Gen. Jackson had devoted his time to strengthening his army, and bringing up supplies. The failure of contractors and mutiny among his troops subjected him to numerous unnecessary trials and difficulties. On January 15 at Fort Strother he received an addition to his force, many of whom had enlisted for short terms.

He was constantly in fear of an attack, and he resolved to strike an immediate blow, not only to keep his men employed, but also to demoralize the Indians. Coupled with his own determination was advices from Gen. Pinckney that Gen. Floyd was about to march upon the Indians gathering on the Tallapoosa.

About this time Gen. Jackson was informed by his scouts that a large force of Creeks, centrated in a bend of the Tallapoosa River, near the mouth of Imukfa Creek, and that the Indians were planning an attack on Fort Armstrong, on the Coosahatchie, in the present Cherokee County, and very near the Georgia line. This fort was garrisoned by some 200 friendly Creeks and Cherokees, and 18 or 20 white men from Mississippi. On January 15 the mounted troops, about 800 strong, crossed the Coosa River at Fish Dam Ford and marched to a good grazing ground on Wehogee Creek, 4 miles distant from Fort Strother, and there they camped. The main force joined them the next day under Gen. Jackson in person. It consisted of an artillery company, with one six-pounder, commanded by Lieut. Robert Armstrong, a company of infantry, two companies of spies, commanded by Capt. John Gordon and Capt. William Russell, and a company of volunteer officers commanded by Gen. Coffee. A small force only had been left at Fort Strother. On January 17 they marched to Talladega Fort, which they reached the next day. Here they were reinforced by two or three hundred friendly Indians, including 65 Cherokees, the remainder Creeks. At this juncture advices were received that Gen. Floyd was about to begin a movement, and also a letter from Col. William Snodgrass, in which he stated that Fort Armstrong was about to be attacked. Gen. Jackson immediately planned an advance. His men prepared three days' rations, and were otherwise put in marching order. The movement against Imukfa was begun on January 19. The army camped on the next night at Enitachopco, at which a battle was later fought on January 24. On the night of the 21st, he had reached Imukfa Creek. Disposing his men in a hollow square, pickets were placed, spies were sent out, and his camp fires built around but far beyond the camp. About 11 o'clock p. m. the spies reported that

the Indians were encamped 3 miles away, engaged in dancing, and with demonstrations, indicating that they knew Gen. Jackson's presence. The men rested quietly on their arms throughout the night, awaiting the attack they knew was imminent.

The next morning about daybreak, January 22, the alarm guns of the sentinels, followed by the yells of Indians, announced the beginning of the expected battle. The Creeks made a furious assault on Jackson's left, by which it was met with great firmness. The battle continued for about 30 minutes. As long as darkness lasted the Americans had some advantage, being massed in the darkness, while the Indians approached between them and the camp fires. With the coming of dawn, the exact disposition of the Indians was ascertained. Gen Jackson reinforced his left wing, and the whole line, under Gen. Coffee charged upon the Indians. The friendly Indians joined in the chase, and the Creeks were driven with great loss for about 2 miles.

The chase over, Gen. Coffee was detached with 400 men and the friendly Indians to burn the Creek encampment. They found it impracticable to do this without the aid of artillery, as it was fortified. About half an hour afterward, the battle was renewed by the Creeks attacking Gen. Jackson's right flank. This was met by Gen. Coffee with 200 men, but owing to some mistake in orders, only his old company of mounted volunteer officers followed him. With this small force he advanced upon the superior numbers of the enemy, who were posted on a ridge. Gen. Coffee dismounted his men, charged the lines, and drove them into a reed brake on the margin of the creek.

The attack on the right flank was a feint, and the main force of Indians which had been carefully concealed, now made a sudden and violent assault upon the left wing, which they believed to have been weakened and demoralized by the first engagement. The charge was met with great firmness, and the Indians were repulsed. The battle then became general along the whole line. The Indians fought in the old way, every

man adopting his own tactics, shooting from behind trees, logs, or from whatever shelter afforded the best protection, falling flat on the ground to reload, then rising to deliver the fire. The battle continued for some time, when an order was given the Tennesseeans to charge and dislodge the Indians. This was successful and they were driven with much loss from the field.

The friendly Indians had earlier in the engagement been ordered to the support of Gen. Coffee, but when the attack became fiercest on the left wing, they joined with the fight in that quarter. Gen. Coffee had been fighting for an hour against a greatly superior force, and Gen. Jackson now dispatched Jim Fife, the principal Creek chief in charge of the friendly warriors, to his relief. Gen. Coffee was severely wounded, but when the Indians came up, a general charge was made, and the hostiles were pursued about 3 miles. Gen. Coffee was shot through the body, and Maj. Donelson and three others were killed. The battle closed about the middle of the afternoon.

The battle over, the dead were collected and buried, the wounded given attention, and a temporary fortification thrown up about the camp. The main objects of the expedition had been accomplished. The Indians had been diverted from any possible attempt to reenforce those against whom Gen. Floyd advanced on the Tallapoosa, and Fort Armstrong was relieved from possible attack. In front of Gen. Coffee's lines the bodies of 45 warriors were found. A like proportion were killed in other parts of the battle.

Although a victor at Imukfa, Gen. Jackson did not feel that he could, with his limited force, hold the ground taken, and without supplies nearer than Talladega, 40 miles distant. His soldiers had only one day's rations, and his Indian troops none. For two days and two nights his horses had been without food, other than occasional grazing. He therefore resolved to fall back to Talladega. Litters were made from the skins of slain horses, on which the sick and wounded were carried. At 10 o'clock on the day following the battle, he began his return march, the troops in regular order, with sick and wounded in

the center. That night they reached the village of Anatichapko, where they encamped.

See Anatichapko; Enitachopco, Battle of; Imukfa.

REFERENCES.—Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824), pp. 132-140; Frost, *Life of Jackson* (1847), pp. 205, 214; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. 1, pp. 486-491; Jenkins, *Life of Jackson* (1852), pp. 87, 88; Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 318-321; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed. 1900), pp. 579-581.

ENITACHOPCO, BATTLE OF. A battle fought by Gen. Andrew Jackson with the Creek Indians at the Creek village of Anatichapko, January 24, 1814, and two days immediately following the battle of Emuckfau. On the night of January 23, Gen. Jackson's army, fresh from the victory over the Indians at Emuckfau, but almost distitute of supplies, encamped near the Creek Indian village of Anatichapko. The camp was on the south side of the creek of that name, and a quarter of a mile from the ford, at which they had previously crossed. The ford was a deep ravine between two hills covered with dense shrubbery. It afforded admirable opportunity for an ambuscade, and this Gen. Jackson so much feared, that another ford was found 600 yards below the first.

On the morning of January 24 the march was resumed. litters with the wounded were placed just behind the first guards. The three columns of the right, the left and the center were commanded respectfully by Cols. Perkins, Nicholas T. Stump, and William Carroll. The officers had been previously advised by orders as to the formation in case of an attack on front, rear or flanks. As the movement began, the Indians in ambush, discovering the unexpected change of route, left their hiding places, advanced and fired upon Capt. Russell's company of spies which was bringing up the rear. The fire was returned, and the company gradually retired until it reached the rear guard.

As the firing began, the advance guard, the wounded and a part of the men were already across the creek, and the artillery was just entering it. Gen Jackson himself was in the stream when he heard the firing commence. He at once had an aide to go forward and form a line for the protection of the wounded, and he himself turned back to the east bank. Here he discovered a most disgraceful sondition. Nearly the entire rear guard, panic-stricken, had plunged into the stream and were making their way to the other bank. Only a small force of about 100 men remained on the east side, and their fighting was to prove an offset to the panic of the rest. The force left to bear the brunt were Capt. Russell's company of spies, about 25 of the rear guard under Col. Carroll and Capt. Quarles, and Lieut. Armstrong's artillery company. Capt. Quarles soon fell. These gallant men and their comrades, with the greatest heroism, contended against many times their number. The Indians appreciating the situation, were jubilant because of the disorder. Lieut. Armstrong, at the first fire of the Indians, had ordered a part of his company to advance, take possession of a hill, and hold it with their muskets, while he and others dragged the six-pounder from the creek to the same point. The cannon, placed in position, poured a fire of grapeshot into the ranks of the enemy. Again it was loaded and fired, and by it and with the fire of muskets, the Creeks were driven back. An incident, here to be related, due to the hurry and confusion incident to the first moment of attack, admirably illustrates the daring and courage of the brave pioneer fighters. The rammer and pricker were left tied to the limber, but in spite of this mishap two of the gunners, Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, were equal to the emergency, Perkins using his musket in driving down the cartridges and Jackson using his ramrod in preparing them for the match. The artillery company suffered severely. Lieut. Armstrong fell severely wounded, exclaiming "my brave boys, some of you may fall, but you must save the cannon."

In the meantime Gen. Jackson and his staff had, by very great exertion, somewhat restored order, and detachments were

sent across to support the small force so bravely holding the crossing. Capt. Gordon's company of spies, which was leading the army and was well across the creek, now recrossed, striking the Indians on the left. Notwithstanding he was severely wounded at Emuckfau, Gen. Coffee mounted his horse, and was of great service to Gen. Jackson in stemming the tide of disaster, and encouraging the men to meet their duty. The tide of battle now began to turn. The Indians could not withstand the increasing attacks. They broke at all points and fled, throwing away blankets, packs and everything else impeding their flight. They were pursued more than 2 miles.

The losses of the Americans in the battles of Emuckfau and Enitachopko, were 20 killed and 75 wounded. Some of the latter died. According to Buell the loss of the Creeks in these two battles was 194 killed, and more than 200 wounded. The statement of Gen. Jackson is that the bodies of 189 Indians were found dead. He reported that only a guess could be made as to the number of wounded. In Eaton the statement is made that it was afterwards learned from prisoners that more than 200 warriors never returned from these engagements. The forces of the Creeks in each engagement were much less than the Americans. Pickett states that they had less than 500 warriors.

After burying the dead, Gen. Jackson resumed his march without molestation, and on January 27 arrived at Fort Strother. Notwithstanding their losses, and their consequent inability to pursue, the Indians are stated, by Pickett, to have looked upon the retrograde movement of Gen. Jackson into Fort Strother as indicating a victory for them. They boasted that they "whipped Capt. Jackson and drove him to the Coosa River."

See Anatichopko, Emuckfau, Battle of; Imukfa.

REFERENCES.—Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824), pp. 140-147; Frost, *Pictorial life of Jackson* (1847), pp. 215-224; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. 1, pp. 491-497; Buell, *Life of Jackson*

(1904), vol. 1, pp. 320, 321; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 581-584; and Jenkins, *Life of Jackson* (1852), pp. 88, 89.

FORT MIMS MASSACRE. An attack by the Creek Indians on a small fort August 30, 1813, in the northern part of Baldwin County, followed by the most brutal massacre in American annals. In July, 1813, because of the hostile attitude of a large part of the Creek Nation, the whites and the wealthy half breed Creeks living on the Tensaw and along Little River began the erection of a stockade fort around the residence of Samuel Mims, a well known pioneer. This stockade, erected upon a slight elevation, was named Fort Mims. It was situated about 400 yards east of Lake Tensaw and 2 miles below the Cut-of. When it was only partly finished the settlers moved in with their provisions and effects. From their number, 70 men were enrolled as a garrison company, which a little later elected Dixon Bailey, a half-breed Creek, as their captain.

At successive intervals small bodies of soldiers were sent by Col. James Carson and Gen. F. L. Claiborne as reenforcements. The soldiers and militia were all placed under the command of Maj. Daniel Beasley, who enlarged the fort by extending the picketing on the east 60 feet deep, thus forming a separate apartment for the accommodation of the officers and their baggage. Maj. Beasley, in the meantime, weakened his command by sending small detachments to garrison other places. His last official report, August 30, 1813, shows 105 soldiers in the fort, which did not include the 70 militiamen commanded by Capt. Dixon Bailey.

After the engagement at Burnt Corn (q. v.) July 27, 1813, the Creeks were again liberally supplied with arms and ammunition by Governor Manriqu in Pensacola. It was now to be an open war, and the Creeks were determined on taking vengence for the unexpected attack upon them at Burnt Corn by the American settlers. Fort Mims was selected as a special

object of attack, because it contained many of their half-breed countrymen, against whom they entertained a special animosity. About 1,000 warriors, collected from 13 hostile towns and commanded by Hopiee Tustunuggee, Peter McQueen and Jim Boy, took up their march southward for the attack. Associated with them was the noted William Weatherford. To conceal this movement, another force of warriors formed a front of observation towards Coweta.

According to Pickett, the entire population of Fort Mims, consisting of whites, officers, soldiers, Indians and negroes, numbered 553 souls. The negligence with which the fort was guarded almost surpasses belief. Its inmates, civil and military, from commanding officer down, were attacked with a strange fatuity in supposing that the Creeks would not assault,, but would direct their warfare upon the Georgia frontier. Hence the inmates of the fort passed nearly all their time day and night, in revelry and pleasure. Despite several warnings, some even on the morning of the assault, Maj Beasley persisted in his carelessness, and even refused to keep the gate of the fort closed. The Creeks meanwhile had quietly advanced and secreted themselves in a thick ravine 400 yards from the east gate. They were well aware of the carelessness of the people and had selected their own time of attack.

The hour of noon came, August 30, 1813, the drum beat the officers and soldiers of the garrison to dinner, when with one simultaneous bound the Creeks leaped forth from the ravine in a swift charge upon the fort, and were within 30 steps before they were seen. They rushed through the open gate into the eastern part of the picketing and began their work of slaughter.

Unprepared as they were and unexpected as was the attack, the garrison made a desperate resistance. Maj. Beasley was among the first slain. The gate, clogged with sand could not be closed, and the Indians had full possession of the eastern part of the fort. From this vantage ground, and from portholes on other sides of the fort, which the Creeks had gained,

they poured a murderous fire upon the inmates. The superior force of the Creeks enabled them to bring fresh warriors constantly into the action. The soldiers and citizens, and even the women and boys, fought with the utmost desperation. After five hours of terrible fighting, the Creeks, with blazing arrows, finally succeeded in setting fire to the houses, then cutting their way through the pickets, they rushed in, and with gun, knife and war club finished their bloody work.

The lives of a few were saved by the interposition of friends among the hostile warriors, while a few others succeeded in pushing their way through the pickets and escaped to the adjacent reed brake. The exact number of survivors can perhaps never been ascertained. But a summing up of the names preserved by different writers gives a list of about 36 survivors of 553 inmates of the fort.

The day after the massacre, the Creeks buried many of their dead in the potato field south of the fort, and left 109 unburied bodies and about 50 afterwards died of their wounds at Burnt Corn Spring. Hopiee Tustenuggee, their chief commander, was slain at Fort Mims. On September 9, the American dead were buried by a detachment under Col. Joseph P. Kennedy.

A monument has been erected by the United States Daughters of 1812 in honor of the men, women and children massacred in Fort Mims. It was formally dedicated May 17, 1917. It is located on the historic road to the river very near the site of the fort. An acre of land, of which the monument is the center, has been deeded to the National Society of the U. S. Daughters of 1812.

See Baldwin County; United States Daughters of 1812.

REFERENCES.—Letters of Col. Benjamin Hawkins, in American State Paper, *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, pp. 853, 854; Meek, *Romantic passages in southwestern history* (1857), pp. 101-109; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 528-542;

Claiborne, *Mississippi,* (1880), pp. 323, 324; Maj. J. D. Dreisbach, "Weatherford," in *Alabama Historical Reporter,* Feb.-April, 1884, vol. 2; Dr. A. B. Clanton, "Fort Mims Massacre", in *Meridian, (Miss.) News,* 1890, 1891; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War of* 1813 *and* 1814 (1895), pp. 143-176; *The Mobile Register,* May 20, 1917.

FORT SINQUEFIELD ATTACK. An attack on one of the stockade forts in Clarke County, by Creek Indians on September 2, 1813. The unsettled condition of the country, caused by anticipated Indian hostilities, had thoroughly aroused the settlers, and they had fortified themselves in numerous rude and hurriedly built stockade forts. Several of these were in Clarke County, including Fort Sinquefield, which was located upon a table land about 5 miles southeast of Grove Hill. The spring which supplied water to the fort was about 275 yards to the southwest in a deep valley. Here many of the settlers in the vicinity came for protection. They would occasionally go out to their farms, but only in groups for protection against possible attack. Some of those who had come to the fort, becoming dissatisfied, or perhaps in the belief that there was comparatively little danger, returned to their homes. One fatal instance of this course resulted in the Kimball-James massacre, on September 1, 1813. The massacre of Fort Mims had taken place two days before on August 30.

Two weeks prior to that massacre the Indians had held a council, supposedly at the Holy Ground, in which their attacking forces were divided into two parties, one to proceed against Fort Mims, and the other, against Fort Sinquefield. The leader of the Indians against the latter was the Prophet Josiah Francis. The inmates of this fort were mostly the settlers on Bassett's Creek. Of these there were about 15 men able to bear arms, including some friendly Creek warriors. On the morning of September 2, the stockade was reenforced by the arrival of 11 well armed mounted men under Lieut. James Bailey. Shortly after their arrival, Bailey's company with some of the garrison

went to the home of Ransom Kimball, and brought back the 12 bodies, who had been massacred there. The dead were buried about 70 yards southeast of the fort, the ceremony concluding about 1 o'clock in the day. The people about the fort had resumed their usual occupations, some of the women were at the spring for water, and others were engaged in washing. Suddenly the Indians, about 100 in number, were seen stealthily approaching the stockade. On the alarm being given the Indians rose, and ran at full speed in the effort to cut off the burial party. Finding that they could not accomplish this they turned, and with hidious yells, attempted to cut off the escape of the helpless women at the spring. At this moment of terror and confusion Isaac Hayden leaped upon a horse, and calling to the dogs in the fort, set the yelping pack upon the Indians. This came as such a surprise to the Indians that for a moment they were compelled to halt and defend themselves. This delay enabled the women, with one exception, to reach the fort in safety. Mrs. Sarah Phillips, when about half way to the fort, was overtaken and slain.

The Indians now surrounded the fort on all sides and opened a furious fire, which was vigorously returned by the garrison. The fighting lasted about two hours, when the Indians withdrew, with a loss of 11 killed. Their wounded was doubtless numerous. The loss of the settlers, in addition to Mrs. Phillips, was one man killed and a boy wounded.

Some two hours after the attack on the fort, its inmates learned from their scouts that the Creeks had retreated several miles. Fearing a possible return, the people resolved to abandon the fort and to retire to Fort Madison. A part left for that post during the evening, and the remainder next morning.

See Fort Madison; Kimball-James Massacre.

REFERENCES.—Meek, *Romantic passages in southwestern history* (1857), pp. 301, 302; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 545, 546; Ball, *Clarke County and its surroundings* (1882), pp. 153-154; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War*

of 1813 *and* 1814 (1895), pp. 184-198; Gen. F. L. Claiborne's Letter, in *American Weekly Messenger,* 1813.

HILLABEE MASSACRE. An attack by the American forces under Gen. James White, November 18, 1813, in which large numbers of the Hillabi Indians were killed or captured, and their town devastated.

A portion of the Hillabis fought Gen. John Coffee at Tallahasseehatchee, and Gen. Jackson at Talladega. These two defeats had such an effect that they sent a delegation to the latter at Fort Strother, suing for peace, and expressing a willingness to agree to any terms that he might dictate. The delegation arrived there probably about November 16. The spokesman appears to have been Robert Grayson, a Scotch Indian countryman, long resident among the Hillabees. Gen Jackson received them, with the statement that the Government would only conclude its campaign among the Indians when they were completely subdued. Continuing he said:

"Upon those who are disposed to become friendly, I neither wish nor intend to make war; but they must afford evidences of the sincerity of their professions; the prisoners and property they have taken from us, and the friendly Creeks must be restored; the instigators of the war and the murderers of our citizens must be surrendered; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mims in bitterness and tears."

Gen. Jackson wrote to Gen. Cocke, then at the mouth of Chattooga, informing him of the attitude of the Hillabees and of the nature of his reply, and remonstrating against Gen. James White's proposed expedition. He was too late, however, as that officer had already begun his march on November 11. Gen. Jackson's "peace talk" never reached the Hillabis. Gen. White's force of a regiment of mounted infantry under Col. Burch, a cavalry battalion under Maj. James P. H. Porter, and 300 Cherokees under Col. Gideon Morgan rapidly penetrated the Creek country, destroying the towns of Okfuskudshi (Little Okfuski)

and Atchina-algi (Genalga) and sparing Enitachopoco, in the belief that it might be of some use to the Americans in the future.

They found themselves in the vicinity of Hillabi town on November 17. It was located on the west side of Little Hillabee Creek, about a quarter of a mile away, and about 600 yards a little west of north of Broken Arrow Creek. Its precise location was in the south central part of the northeast quarter of Sec. 12, T. 24, R. 21 E., in Tallapoosa County. It is said that this town might be at the time considered a sort of hospital, for in its cabins were about 65 helpless warriors who had been severely wounded at Tallasseehatchee and Talladega. Apart from these men, the only other occupants were women and children. On the morning of November 18, the very day on which Gen. Jackson had given the Hillabi delegates his peace talk at Fort Strother, Gen. White surrounded the town. The troops dismounted, entered the cabins and in 10 or 15 minutes bayonetted every one of the 65 helpless warriors. There was no resistance, and not an American was hurt. Just then someone in the town raised a white flag and Gen. White's easy victory was supplemented by the surrender of 25 women and children. After burning the town the troops with their prisoners took up the line of march to Fort Armstrong.

Fort Mims was a battle and a massacre; the Hillabi affair was a massacre only. Gen. Jackson was both enraged and grieved when he heard of what had been done, and no doubt Gen. White would have met with summary treatment if he had returned with his command to Fort Strother. He doubtless knew this, and went to his home in east Tennessee.

This massacre for many months seriously affected the reputation of Gen. Jackson in the eyes of the Indians, as it was supposed to have been done under his orders. Without a knowledge of the facts, they believed him guilty of treachery in permitting what they termed a murder of the wounded and helpless warriors. At the treaty of Fort Jackson, nine months later, one of the first acts of Gen. Jackson, before entering upon nego-

tiations, was to make a satisfactory explanation to the Creek delegates.

The Hillabi massacre had a most disastrous influence among the Creeks otherwise. It discouraged the friendly Indians, exasperated the lukewarm and infused a spirit of despair into the hearts of the hostiles. With the latter there was never afterwards the slightest friendly overtures. One historian describing the workings of the heart of the Indians says:

"From that time to the end of the war, it was observed that the Indians fought with greater fury and persistence than before; for they fought with the blended energy of hatred and despair. There was no suing for peace, no asking for quarter. They fought as long as they could stand, and as much longer as they could sit or kneel, and then as long as they had strength to shoot an arrow or pull a trigger—were all that they supposed remained to them after the destruction of the Hillabees."

See Anatichapho; Atchina-algi; Hillabi; Okfuskudshi.

REFERENCES.—Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824), p. 77; Frost, *Pictorial life of Andrew Jackson* (1847), pp. 159-162; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1860), vol. 1, pp. 452, 455; Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 312-315; *Memoirs of Andrew Jackson* (1828), pp. 67, 68; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), p. 556; *Niles Register* Dec. 18 and 23, 1813, pp. 282, 283.

HOLY GROUND CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE. The principal campaign and engagement between the Creeks and the whites in South Alabama, continuing for several weeks, and concluding with the battle of the Holy Ground, December 23, 1813.

The Holy Ground, or Ikanatchaka, was an Indian town of controlling influence among the Indians, during the Creek In-

dion War of 1813-14. It was located between Pintlala and Big Swamp Creek, on the Alabama River in the present Lowndes County. It was about two miles north of White Hall. The town contained the council house of the Alabama tribe, and was the residence of the principal Creek prophets, who with their magic spells at the opening of the War, had asserted that it had been made holy or was consecrated against the intrusion of white men. Until its destruction, it was a base for provisions and war supplies of the Creeks in their operations against the settlers.

Gen. F. L. Claiborne then in south Alabama resolved that the Holy Ground must be destroyed. In November, 1813, he marched with his army from the Tombigbee to Weatherford's Bluff on the Alabama, where he established a depot of provisions for Gen. Jackson, and erected a fort, to which the name Fort Claiborne was given. Here on November 28, his army was reenforced by the 3d United States Infantry Regiment under Col. Gilbert Christian Russell. On December 13, in obedience to instructions from Gen. Thomas Flournoy, Gen. Claiborne advanced his forces from Fort Claiborne toward the Holy Ground. After several days' march a brief halt was made in the present Butler County, where a depot was established, known as Fort Deposit, where he left his wagons, cannon, baggage, and the sick, with 100 men as a guard. The march was then resumed.

The Indians on learning of the approach of Gen. Claiborne's army took the precautions to move their women and children across the Alabama River into what is now Autauga County. They thus evidenced their unwillingness to put much faith in their vaunted belief as to the impregnability of the town. About midday December 23, the town was attacked. The battle lasted only about one hour, resulting in a complete defeat, the Indians making good their escape across the river, leaving 33 warriors slain. The number of wounded is not known, as they succeeded in bearing them all away. William Weatherford, the 'Red Eagle," had conducted the defense of the Holy Ground, and was one of the last to make an escape. His famous horseback leap from the river in making his escape was one of the picturesque incidents of the Creek War.

The American loss at the Holy Ground was 1 killed and 20 wounded. This extremely light loss, considering the bravery with which the Creeks fought, must be ascribed to the scarcity of ammunition among them, which compelled many of the warriors to have resort to bows and arrows.

The spoils of the Holy Ground were given by Gen. Claiborne to his Choctaw allies, and the town was then burned. The two succeeding days were devoted to the destruction of other towns of the Holy Ground and vicinity, and the Indian farms and boats.

The defeat of the Creeks at the Holy Ground closed their military operations in south Alabama, and it tended greatly to facilitate the work of Gen. Jackson in bringing the war to a close three months later, by the decisive Battle of the Horseshoe Bend. After the battle the army returned to Fort Claiborne, where many of the volunteers were honorably discharged, their term of service having expired.

See Ikanatchaka; Weatherford, "Red Eagle."

REFERENCES.—Meek, *Romantic passages in southwestern history* (1857), pp. 278-280; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 573-576; Claiborne, *Sam Dale* (1860), pp. 137, 142; Claiborne, *Mississippi* (1880), pp. 329, 330; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War* 1813 *and* 1814 (1895), pp. 244-263; Ala. Hist. Society, *Transactions*, 1897-98, vol. 21, pp. 98-100; Russell, *History of the late war* (1815); Claiborne, N. H., *Notes on the war in the south* (1819).

HORSESHOE BEND, BATTLE OF. The last and decisive engagement between the Creek Indians and the United States forces, under Gen. Andrew Jackson, fought at Horseshoe Bend, in what is now Tallapoosa County, March 27, 1814. The Burnt Corn Fight took place July 27, 1813, followed by the frightful Fort Mims Massacre, August 30, 1813, and the Kimball-James

Massacre of September 1, 1813. The arming of the white settlers quickly followed, and the forces of the Government were at once set in motion for the punishment of the Indians.

In south Alabama the settlers had quickly armed and fought the Indians at Fort Sinquefield, September 2, and at Bashi, October 1813. The Canoe Fight, November 12, 1813, gave evidence of the physical prowess of the pioneers, and stimulated the courage of the people in the whole region. The Mississippi volunteers and the Tensaw and the Tombigbee militia closed the year, 1813, with the Holy Ground Campaign and Battle, December 23.

The Georgians, with a few brave men from the Carolinas, had fought the Red Sticks at Autossee, November 29, 1813, followed by Calebee, January 27, 1814.

The Tennesseans, under Gen. Jackson, struck on the north. In swift succession had come the destruction of Black Warrior Town, October 22, the burning of Littafutchee, October 29, the battles of Tallasehatchee, November 3, of Talladega, November 9, the Hillabee Massacre, November 18, 1813, the battles of Emuckfau, January 22, and of Enitacopco, January 24, 1814.

For two months Gen. Jackson had been increasing his forces and assembling supplies. The Indians throughout the Nation rallied to a strong native defensive situation on the Tallapoosa River, known as Horseshoe Bend, for a final stand. The Indians themselves called it Cholocco Litabixee (q. v.), meaning a "horse's flat foot." The place had still another name, Tohopeka, meaning a "wooden fence," that is, "a fenced off place, a fort."

At Fort Strother, March 1, 1814, Gen. Jackson had an effective force of 4,000 men. This force consisted of the Thirty-Ninth United States Infantry, commanded by Lieut.Col. John Williams, Gen. Johnston's bridgade of West Tennesseeans, Gen. Dougherty's brigade of East Tennesseeans, and Gen. Coffee's mounted rifles, with an indefinite number of Chreokees and

friendly Creeks. A wagon road had been opened over the divide between the Tennessee River and the headquarters of the Coosa, so that now supplies came to the army in such quantities that full rations were issued regularly to the troops, with a surplus of ten days or more ahead.

About two weeks prior to this time, Gen. Jackson was informed by the Kailaidshi chiefs that the Yufaules, the Niuyakas, the Okfuskis, and the remnant of the Hillabis, with many hostiles from other quarters, numbering 900 to 1,000, were concentrating in Horseshoe Bend, which they were fortifying, and were resolved to defend it to the last. Menawa was their head chief.

This information determined Gen. Jackson to march down Coosa River to some eligible point, there establish a new depot, then march across the country and strike the Indian stronghold. The mouth of Cedar Creek was selected. Flat boats were constructed on which the supplies were placed, and on March 14, the boats in charge of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, proceeded down the river. On the same day, after leaving 480 men under Col. Steele to hold Fort Strother and keep open the communication with Tennessee, Gen. Jackson crossed the river with his army, proceeded down the country, and on the 21st reached the mouth of Cedar Creek. He had to wait a day for the arrival of the boats.

In the meantime a depot was built near the mouth of the creek to which was given the name of Fort Williams in honor of the commander of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment. Gen. Jackson garrisoned the place with a detachment of 400 men under Brig.-Gen. Thomas Johnston, which was to serve as a reserve and to keep open the line of communication with Fort Strother.

The detachments at Fort Strother and Fort Williams, together with various other causes, had by this time reduced the army to about 2,400, in which were included Gen. Coffee's 900 mounted riflemen. His artillery now consisted of two cannon,

a new three-pounder, and his old six-pounder of Emuckfau and Enitachopco.

On the morning of March 24, with eight days' rations, Gen. Jackson left Fort Williams and at nightfall on the 26th camped within 5 miles of Horseshoe Bend. Early the next morning, agreeably to Gen. Jackson's order, Gen. Coffee, with 700 mounted men, and 600 Indian footmen, 500 Cherokees and 100 Creeks, all the Indians commanded by Col. Gideon Morgan, crossed the Tallapoosa River at the Little Island ford, 3 miles below the bend, and took possession of the river bank. Gen. Jackson, meanwhile moved his army forward, and by 10 o'clock it was drawn up in line of battle in front of the Creek breastwork.

No place on the Tallapoosa River was better adapted for the construction of an Indian stronghold than the Horseshoe, a name well descriptive of the locality. It was a peninsula formed by a bend of the river, about 100 acres in area. Across the isthmus or neck of the peninsula, about 250 yards in extent, the Creeks had erected a rampart from 5 to 8 feet high, curving toward the center, composed of large logs laid upon each other. Two ranges of portholes were made in the rampart, which was so constructed that an army approaching it would be exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy, who would be well protected on the inner side. During the long time in which Gen. Jackson was detained at Fort Strother, the Creeks were busy in constructing this massive stronghold, and from its peculiar structure, some historians have hinted that they must have had the assistance of some English engineer. There were but few trees on the high grounds within the enclosure. But along the declivity and along the flat bordering the river extending from the terminus of the bend above the terminus below, the large trees had been felled and so arranged that every fallen trees formed a breastwork, which connected with another fallen tree, thus making a continuous breastwork encircling the entire inner bend. At places in the bank of the river artificial caverns were made from which concealed warriors could fire.

On the low grounds adjacent to the river and in the extreme southern part of the bend, or point of the Horseshoe, was the Creek village, known as Tohopeka, in which were several hundred women and children, and not far off, many canoes lined the river bank.

A study of the workings of the mind of the Creek Indian of that day, who, apart from certain objective appropriations of the white civilization, was still, subjectively, a man of the stone age, clearly shows that he believed that he would be the victor. Largely ignorant of the overwhelming resources of the white man, encouraged and emboldened by his partial success at Emuckfau and Enitachopco, driving Gen. Jackson, as he supposed, back to the Coosa River, day and night kept in a continual religious frenzy by his prophets, it can well be seen that he did not believe that his stronghold could be taken. As Indians are always provident and careful of their families in time of war, another evidence of the belief of the Creeks in the impregnability of the place is the fact that when they knew of the coming of the army they did not remove their women and children to some other place, where they would be beyond the reach of danger.

About half past 10 o'clock Gen. Jackson planted his cannon on a low hill about 80 yards from the nearest point of the breastwork and about 250 from the farthest, and promptly opened fire upon its center. For two hours, in which 70 rounds were fired, the balls of the two cannon were hurled against the rampart, but they remained unshaken. The cannonading was accompanied at time with the firing of muskets and rifles, whenever the Creeks were to be seen behind their breastworks. During all this time, unappalled by the fire of the cannon and the small arms, the Creeks gave vent to derisive yells, and were assured of the victory by the prophets. These men with their faces painted black, their heads and shoulders decorated with feathers, waved their cow tails, jingled their bells, and danced their wizard dances.

In the meantime Gen. Coffee moved up the river, but

bearing off for some distance. When about half a mile below, he heard the yells of the Creek and supposed they were crossing from the village to attack him. He at once formed his men in line of battle and moved forward. When within a quarter of a mile of the village, the firing of Jackson's cannon was heard. Acting according to a previous order, the Cherokees and friendly Creeks immediately rushed forward in good order, took possession of the river bank, and shot some fugitives in the river. Gen. Coffee now formed his men in line of battle against an attack from the Okfuskee village, some miles below, not knowing at the time that the Okfuskees were in the Bend. About 100 warriors with many women and children could now be seen. This sight, with the continual fire of Jackson's cannon and small arms, so aroused the Cherokees and friendly Creeks that some of them plunged into the river, swam across, and brought back a number of canoes. These were at once filled with warriors, rowed across, and landed under cover of the bank, and sent back for reenforcements. In this manner the Cherokees and the friendly Creeks crossed over. Capt. Russell's company of spies likewise crossed over. The river bank was thus left unguarded, and Gen. Coffee placed one-third of his men along around the bend, while two-thirds remained in line in the river to protect against a possible attack from the Okfuskees.

The attack of the Cherokees and the friendly Creeks upon the rear of the Red Sticks was sufficient to announce to Gen. Jackson that Gen. Coffee had complete possession of the river bank, precluding all hope of escape in that quarter. It was now half past 12 o'clock, and he determined to carry the breastworks by storm, the entire length of which was lined with warriors. The soldiers, regulars and militia, were eager for the assault. The word was given and the entire line sprang forward. For a few minutes a deadly struggle took place, the muzzles of the opposing guns often meeting in the same porthole. So close was the fire that afterwards many of the Creek bullets were found lodged and welded fast between the bayonets and barrels of the Amercan muskets. Maj. Lemuel Purnell Montgomery of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment was one of the first Americans to fall. He had just shot an Indian with his pistol

through a porthole, when, an instant after, he fell dead, his head pierced by a bullet coming from the same place. The breastwork was at last in American possession, and the battle now assumed a more deadly aspect.

Everywhere over the peninsula, from behind trees, logs, the tops of fallen timber, and caves in the river bank, from every place that could furnish protection or concealment, assailed by the Americans in front and by their Indian allies in the rear, the Creeks, now hopeless of victory, fought with all the fury of despair. They asked for no quarter and rejected it when offered. It was no longer a battle but a butchery. Everyone that sought escape by swimming the river became a target for the deadly rifles of Coffee's men. The few that reached the other shore were killed the instant they set foot on land. Bean's company killed every man that approached the island, while Capt. Hammond's company was equally destructive at the extremity of the bend above. Many of the Creeks sought the heaps of brush on the west angle of their line of defense, where from their concealment they kept up a constant fire upon the Americans.

Gen. Jackson wishing to save them from utter destruction and to convince them of the hopelessness of a further struggle, now ordered his interpreter to advance with a flag, under the protection of some trees, within forty yards of the concealed Indians and there deliver his talk. The interpreter acted according to instructions, and elevating his voice and speaking the Indian tongue, he told them of the folly of further resistance, and that he was commanded by Gen. Jackson to say, that if they would surrender they should be duly treated as prisoners of war. With the old aboriginal sense of decorum the Creeks listened patiently to the talk of the interpreter. But their stern resolve had been taken, and it may be that in that same moment, they bitterly thought of the massacre of the Hillabees, and with it no confidence in Gen. Jackson's word. Be the matter as it may, after a few moments pause at the close of the talk, they responded by opening fire upon the flag, by which, whether intentional or otherwise, the interpreter was wounded.

After this, there was no alternative but utter annihilation. After some in effectual efforts to dislodge them, fire was applied to the brush and thickets, which spreading in every direction drove the Creeks forth and the work of carnage went on. The Creeks fought everywhere and were slain everywhere, on the high ground, in the caves, and along the margin of the river. Night at last put an end to the day's slaughter. The next morning saw the last of the butchery in the killing of 16 Creeks, concealed under the river bank. Of these may be included a small party discovered in a cave in the river bank, and who refused to surrender. The soldiers finding it impossible to dislodge them, finally drove a series of long sharpened stakes deep in the earth along the bluff overlooking the cave. Exerting all their united strength they then pried off the immense mass of earth, which fell and buried the Creeks alive.

The American loss at the Horseshoe was 26 white men killed and 107 wounded. The Cherokees had 18 killed and 36 wounded; the friendly Creeks 5 killed and 11 wounded. The loss of the Red Sticks was fearful, 557 were found and counted on the field. Gen Coffee estimated that from 250 to 300 were killed in the river. Combining these figures will give at least 800 Creeks killed. Three prophets were slain, one of these Monohoe, was shot in the mouth by a cannon ball. Gen Jackson writing to Gov. Blount four days after the battle, supposed it certain that not more than 30 Creeks escaped. Pickett, the Alabama historian, thought it safe to state that about 200 may have survived. Of the survivors was the great chief Menawa, who managed to escape in the darkness of the night. Of the women and children 370 were captured, and according to Buell about 60 warriors, who were so badly wounded that they could neither fight nor run.

On March 28, 1814, Gen. Jackson buried his dead by sinking them in the river, thereby preventing their mutilation by the Creeks. He had litters made for the transportation of his wounded; and began his return march to Fort Williams, where he arrived on April 1. Here the friendly Indians were dismissed.

The importance of this battle has been universally recognized by historians, both local and general.

A. C. Buell, "History of Andrew Jackson" (1904), Vol. I, p. 338) says:

"This ended the Creek war. For stubborn fighting and for general destruction alike of life and property on the part of the Indians it stands alone in the history of savage warfare on this continent. Never before had the Indians fought in such military fashion, suffered such losses, or held out to the bitter end as the Creeks did. The fighting power of the tribe was annihilated. At the outbreak of the war the Creeks were the richest Indians in America. At its end they were the poorest. From its disasters they never fully recovered. The destruction of three-fourths of the able-bodied men in any nation or trible of any race or color must inevitably change its destinies permanently."

The anonymous author of "Memoirs of Andrew Jackson" (1848, p. 122):

"This battle gave a death blow to their hopes, nor did they venture afterwards to make a stand. From their fastness in the woods they had tried their strength, agreeably to their accustomed mode of warfare, in ambuscade, had brought on the attack, and, in all, failure and disaster had been met. None of the advantages incident on surprise, and for which the red men of our forests have always so characterized, had they been able to obtain. The continual defeats they had received were doubtless the reason of their having so strongly fortified this place, where they had determined to perish or to be victorious. Few escaped the carnage. Of the killed many of their friends were thrown into the river whilst the battle raged; many, in endeavoring to pass it, were sunk by the steady fire of Coffee's brigade, and 557 were left dead on the ground. Among the number of the slain were 3 of their prophets. Decorated in a most fantastic manner—the plumage of various birds about their heads and shoulders—with savage grimaces, and horried contortions of the body, they danced and howled their cantations

to the sun. Their dependents already believed a communion with Heaven sure, which, moved by entreaty and their offered homage, would aid them in the conflict and give a triumph to their arms. Fear had no influence, and when they beheld our army approaching and already scaling their line of defense, even then, far from being dispirited, hope survived and victory was still anticipated. Monohoe, one of the most considerable of their inspired ones and who had cheered and kept alive the broken spirit of the nation by his pretended divinations, fell mortally wounded by a cannon shot in the mouth while earnestly engaged in his incantations."

A. B. Meek, in the "Red Eagle" (1855, pp. 88-89), thus commemorates this fierce and fateful engagement:

Yes, by their courage and their strength,
Muscogee's braves are quelled at length.
Six moons have rolled their silver tide,
And they are blasted in their pride;
The autumn stars saw thiumph's glow;
The spring-time sun, the broken bow!
Their blood has crimsoned all their rills:
From Estanaula's tumbling wave
To where Escambia's waters lave,
The fire and sword have swept their land,
Dealt with an unrelenting hand.
At Tallisee in vain they stood,
Or poured at Autossee their blood!
No skill or cunning could drive back,
The conqueror from his fiery track.
One final effort in despair,
As turns the panther in his lair.
Beside fair Tallapoosa's wave,
Within the "Horseshoe Bend" they made,
Yet found its refuge but a grave,
That scarce a warrior could evade!!
Oh, seldom in the battlefield
Have fiercer scenes or deadlier strife
Than this been witnessed.

A monument has been erected by the United States Government on the battle ground, as "a memorial to the men who fought in that battle under the command of General Andrew Jackson," at a cost of $5,000. The appropriation was made by act of Congress, April 2, 1914. Congressional action was the direct result of an agitation, begun in 1907 by S. S. Broadus of Decatur. Following an appeal by him the legislature of Alabama created the *Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary Commissin,* August 6, 1907. The commission organized and later presented a "Memorial" to Congress, March 3, 1909. Under the auspices of the commission the 100th anniversary of the battle was celebrated by placing a tablet on the courthouse of Tallapoosa County at Dadeville, March 27, 1914, and by a more elaborate celebration on the battle ground itself, July 4, 1914.

The following is the inscription on the tablet:

1814-1914.
This tablet is placed by
TALLAPOOSA COUNTY
in commemoration of the
One hundredth anniversary of the
BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND
fought within its limits on March 27, 1814.
There the Creek Indians, led by Menawa and other Chiefs,
were defeated by the American and allied Indian forces
under Gen. Andrew Jackson.
This battle broke the power of the fierce
Muscogee, brought peace to the
Southern frontier, and made possible the
speedy opening up of a large part
of the State of Alabama
to civilization.

———

Dadeville, Alabama,
March 27, 1914.

See Cholocco Litabixa; Coffee, John; Fort Jackson, Treaty of; Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary Commission; Menawa (Creek Chief); Tallapoosa County; Tohopeka.

REFERENCES.—Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson's Report, March 28, 1814 to Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney, in *Niles Weekly Register*, 1814, vol. 6, p. 130; Maj. Gen. Jackson's Report, March 31, 1814, to Gov. Willie Blount of Tennessee, in *Niles Register*, 1814, vol. 6, p. 146; Brig. Gen. John Coffee's Report, April 1, 1814, to Maj. Gen. Jackson, in *Niles Weekly Register*, 1814, vol. 6, p. 148; Brig. Gen. Coffee's letter, April 1, 1814 to Capt. John Donelson, in *American Historical Magazine*, Nashville, Tenn., 1901, vol. 6, pp. 181-183; Col. Gideon Morgan, commander of the Cherokees, letter, April 1, 1814, to Gov. Blount, in *Niles Weekly Register*, vol. 6, p. 148; Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1824), pp. 158-166; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. 1, p. 514-523; Frost, *Pictorial life of Jackson* (1847), pp. 227, 240; Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 326-329; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 588-592; *Handbook of American Indians* (1907) vol. 1, p. 290. (1910), vol. 2, p. 772; *Memorial of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Commission*, 1909 (S. Doc. 756, 60th Cong. 2d sess.); Colyar, *Life and times of Andrew Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 159-172.

FORT JACKSON TREATY. Fort Jackson was an American cantonment located on the site of old Fort Toulouse, on the Coosa River. At the close of the Creek War of 1813-14, after the decisive battle of Horseshoe Bend, March 27, 1814, Gen. Andrew Jackson withdrew his men to Fort Williams, but almost immediately started for the Hickory Ground, just above the site of Fort Toulouse. On the way he moved against Hoithlewale and Fooshatchie, but the Indians fled on his approach. He then marched to the site of the old fort, now fast crumbling to ruins, cleaned the trenches, built a stockade and blockhouses and established a cantonment, which was named Fort Jackson.

Here the defeated Indian chiefs came to Gen. Jackson and

submitted to the terms of surrender. The "Red Eagle," Wm. Weatherford, who was intensely hated by the soldiers for his part in the Fort Mims Massacre, rode boldly up to the camp April 14, 1814, and made an eloquent plea for the Indian women and children who were starving. Many of the soldiers were so incensed against Weatherford that they would have killed him at once, but Gen. Jackson was so impressed with his courage and the manliness of his request that he protected him from injury. Upon the resignation of General Hamilton and Harrison, Gen. Jackson was promoted to the rank of major-general, July 10, 1814, and immediately assumed command of the Southwest. After much opposition from some of the principal chiefs, Gen. Jackson concluded the treaty with the Creeks at Fort Jackson, August 9, 1814. This was an event of great importance, as it threw open to settlement almost half of the area of the present State of Alabama.

The fort continued to be a garrisoned post for some time. The rich and fertile country of which it was the center soon became the objective for large numbers of settlers coming into the territory. It was designated as the temporary place for holding the courts of the newly created county of Montgomery. A post office was established with Wm. R. Ross of Virginia, as postmaster. Sessions of court were held here until May, 1818. Just above the fort a town was laid off and called Jackson, but the tides of population flowed by it, and in a short time the influence of Fort Jackson waned, although for many years it was the center of a thriving farming territory.

References.—Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 194, 195, 230, 293, 599; Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (1910), pp. 424, 425, *footnote*; Brewer, *Alabama* (1872, pp. 33-35; Robertson, *Early settlers of Montgomery County* (1892); West, *History of Methodism in Alabama* (1893), pp. 172-174; Trans. Ala. Hist. Society, 1897-98, v. 2, p. 132, *footnote;* Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824) pp. 68, 175; Colyar, *Life and times of Jackson* (1904), v. 1, pp. 173, 184; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), v. 1 pp. 527, 537; Buell, *History of Jackson* (1904), p. 330.

Kimball-James Massacre.—A brutal massacre, September 1, 1813, in Clarke County, and in which the Creeks under the Prophet Francis cruelly murdered 12 members of the Kimball and James families. In the fall of 1813 the settlers in Clarke County were constantly alert, fearing Indian attack. They had gathered in rude forts. Ransom Kimball and Abner James, however, became dissatisfied with an inactive life at Fort Sinquefield, and some tine in August they and their families moved out to the home of the former about a mile distant in the east.

On Septembber 1, 1813, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a band of Creek warriors under the Prophet Francis suddenly surrounded the house, and before they could hardly realize that the Indians were upon them, 12 of the inmates were killed. Only a few made escape to the fort. After the massacre, the Indians plundered the house, killed the stock, and then retired to Bassett's Creek swamp. During the attack, Mrs. Sarah Merrill, a daughter of Abner James was struck down, together with her infant son. Both were supposed to be dead. Mrs. Merrill was scalped. She was revived by the falling rain, recovered her child from among the bodies, and with it succeeded in making her way to the fort also. She and the child eventually recovered. Mrs. Merrill died in Clarke County in 1869, but she could never remain long in the sun because of the woumd on her head. The attack on Fort Sinquefield was made on the following day.

See Clarke County; Fort Sinquefield Attack.

References.—Meek, *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (1857) pp. 300, 301; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed. 1900), pp. 544, 545; Ball, *Clarke and its surroundings* (1882), pp. 150-153; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War of* 1813 *and* 1814, (1895), pp. 177-181.

Talladega, Battle of.—An engagement between Gen. Jackson's army and a body of hostile Creeks, who were attempting to reduce what was known as Leslie's Station. This was a trading post at the old Indian town of Talladega, situated on a hill about

a quarter of a mile southwest of the big spring, and near the present town of Talladega. It was named after Alexander L. Leslie, the half breed son of Alexander F. Leslie, a Scotch Indian countryman in the Creek nation. The station was occupied by 17 white men and about 120 friendly Creeks, under the leadership of Jim Fife and Chinnabee. These Indians had refused to join the hostiles, and in consequence they were attacked by them and driven into the stockade. At Fort Strother, with an army badly in need of rations, Gen. Jackson heard of the attack, and at once marched to its relief. On the morning of November 9, his intrepid Tennesseans moved upon the Indian forces from the common center. The Indians fought bravely, and repulsed Robert's militia brigade, but they in turn were beaten back by fresh troops. The Tennesseans, under Jackson and his courageous lieutenants, pressed steadily forward. The Indians gave way and numbers escaped through Jackson's lines. Many were pursued and shot down as they ran. The battle lasted scarcely more than an hour and a half. For miles around, the woods were filled with dead and wounded Indians. Two hundred and ninety-nine were wounded on the battlefield proper, and there were doubtless many others that were not located. Jackson's losses were 15 killed and 80 wounded. The forces of Gen. Jackson consisted of about 2,000 men, infantry and mounted, while the Indians had about 1,000. The garrison in the fort was thus releaved. Jackson's dead were buried on the field. In recent years, the Talladega chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, have had their remains removed to the city cemetery, where they were reinterred, and a handsome monument erected in commemoration of their valor. On the morning of November 10, Jackson's army returned to Fort Strother, where it remained for a number of days, resting and preparing for further advance.

References.—Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 554-555; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. 1, pp. 440-446; Buell, *History of Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 306-310; Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824), pp. 57-63; (Eaton) *Memoirs of Jackson* (1848), pp. 50-55; Frost, *Pictorial Life of Jackson* (1846), pp. 139-147; Jenkins, *Life of Jackson* (1852), pp. 69, 73; Colyar, *Life and Times of Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 129-130.

Tallasseehatchee, Battle of.—This was the first of the battles of Gen. Andrew Jackson's army in his campaign against the Indians in the Creek Indian War of 1813-1814. It was fought November 3, 1813, beween the hostile Creek Indians collected in the town of Tallasseehatchee, and the forces of Gen. Jackson, under the immediate command of Gen. John Coffee. Gen. Jackson was moving his army with difficulty, owing to much needed supplies. Gen. Coffee had destroyed Black Warrior's Town; and Col. Dyer had burned the town of Littafuchee. The army now had reached Ten Islands on the Coosa River, and Gen Jackson began planning the erection of Fort Strother. Gen. Coffee was directed to advance on Tallasseehatchee with 920 men. He was accompanied by Richard Brown and a company of Creeks and Cherokees. The town was situated near the head of the creek of that name, about three miles southwest of Jacksonville. It had about 100 families, and a fighting force of 120 warriors, had only recently been increased by 300 warriors, brought together from the towns below, making an Indian force of 420 fighting men. Gen. Coffee surrounded the town about sunrise of November 3. The engagement was swift and bloody. Not an Indian asked to be spared There is some decrepancy in the accounts of those engaged, but the Indian killed were 186 warriors who were counted, and 18 Indian women. A number were never counted. Some escaped, and fled toward Oakfusee. Gen. Coffee's losses were five killed and 41 wounded. Eighty-four women and children, and fourteen hopelessly crippled warriors were taken prisoners. The prisoners were sent to Huntsville.

On the same day, Gen. Coffee returned to headquarters.

Of the arms and equipment in this battle, Brewer says—"A noticeable circumstance in connection with this battle is that the Indians were all armed with bow and quiver of arrows, besides guns, which showed that they had taken to heart the advice of Tecumseh to throw aside the arts they had learned from the whites, and return to their primitive customs."

Buell says, p. 304: "An interesting feature of this encounter was the fact that it was Coffee's first battle. In his conduct of it,

however, he exhibited skill and precision worthy a veteran of many fields. Coffee was an instinctive soldier, an intuitive general. Long after when his native capacity had been developed in many hard-fought encounters, including the battle of the 23rd below New Orleans, Gen. Jackson said of him: 'John Coffee is a consummate commander. He was born so. But he is so modest that he doesn't know it.' "

On the death of Gen. Coffee in 1834, Gov. William Carroll of Tennessee said of him in a funeral eulogy: "In view of all the circumstances, I had rather have been the hero of Tallasseehatchee than of the Horseshoe Bend. I had almost said New Orleans itself! It was the first battle of the Creek campaign; the first battle fought by any troops under Andrew Jackson's command. Upon its issue depended in great measure the morale of our troops, their confidence in their leaders and the buoyancy of spirit that would nerve them to endure the indescribable fatigues and privations to which they were subjected."—Buell, p. 305.

References.—Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), p. 552; Brewer, *Alabama* (1872), p. 152; Parton, *Life of Jackson* (1861), vol. 1, pp. 436-440; Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 302-305; Eaton, *Life of Jackson* (1824), pp. 53-55; Jenkins, *Life of Jackson* (1825), pp. 65-67; Frost, *Pictorial Life of Jackson* (1847), pp. 132-137; Colyar, *Life and Times of Jackson* (1904), vol. 1, pp. 127-128.

Littafuchee, Engagement At.—Brief engagement or attack, by Col. Dyer, with 200 cavalry, October 29, 1813, in which the Indian village of Littafuchee was destroyed. The town was attacked at four o'clock in the morning. It was burned, and 29 prisoners, consisting of men, women and children were taken. This town was located on the headwaters of Canoe Creek, between Ashville and Springville in St. Clair County.

References.—Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's ed., 1900), pp. 552-553; Brewer, *Alabama* (1872), p. 523.

NAME PLACES AFFECTED BY THE INDIAN WAR OF 1813-14

Peter A. Brannon

The geographical and historical nomenclature of the State has been decidedly affected by the events of that conflict between the early white settlers and the native Indians known as the war of 1813-14. An expedition against the Indians was brought in by General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, one was brought in by General John Floyd from Georgia, and still another into the same area from the more western section of Mississippi Territory under General Ferdinand L. Claiborne. Specifically, Jackson, James Lauderdale, Sam Houston, Lemuel P. Montgomery, Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, James Gadsden, John Coffee, David Crockett, and many other members of Jackson's Tennessee organization contributed in such a manner that we have remembered their services. The Tennessee contribution centering around the influence of Jackson has far over shadowed the influence of the other two States. Alabama has Jackson, Coffee, Blount, Lauderdale, Montgomery and Calhoun, originally Benton, Counties. Gadsden of Etowah County, Haneville of Lowndes County, Russellville of Franklin County, Moulton of Lawrence County, County-Seats at the present time, Somerville, Houston, Crockettsville, Fort Jackson Town, Jacksonville, Coffeeville, one-time County Seats, Jackson, and a few other towns and villages today bear names reminiscent of the period.

General Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina, served many years in various capacities from the State of Tennessee, and had a distinguished career in American political life. Jackson County, created December 13, 1819, honors the General, who at the moment was a guest "within the rail" of the Senate then in session at Huntsville. Fort Jackson Town, the original County Seat of Montgomery County, was named for the military post which superceded the survey of that place for a town, and the name was given, by his men to honor their beloved commander, to the old French Fort Toulouse at that place. Jacksonville, long-time County Seat of Benton, now Calhoun County, and Jackson

town in Clarke County, Jackson's Gap in Tallapoosa County, Jackson, a community in Choctaw County, Jacksonburg in Lauderdale County, and Lake Jackson in Covington County bear the General's name.

Coffee County, Coffeeville in Clarke County, Coffee Springs in Geneva County are to the memory of General John Coffee, brother-in-law of Andrew Jackson, and associated with him in his campaign against the Indians as well as the New Orleans campaign.

Gadsden, County Seat of Etowah, is named for Colonel James Gadsden, who served in the war of 1813-14, was with General Jackson in his Florida campaign in 1817 and 1818, was United States Adjutant General for a time, and was minister to Mexico at the time of the annexation by purchase of that section of North Mexico now embodied in the States of New Mexico and Arizona.

Arthur P. Hayne served with Jackson at the land cession treaty of August 9, 1814, lived a short time in Autauga County, and is without doubt the South Carolinian who was honored in the selection of the name for the County Seat of that sub-division cut off from the west of Montgomery County when Lowndes was created in 1830. Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville were killed at the battle of Horseshoe Bend March 27, 1814 and are there buried. Moulton town was named as the County Seat of Lawrence County when that sub-division of the Territory was created February 6, 1818, and Somerville was the name given to the County Seat of Morgan when that County was erected by the Territorial Legislature on the same day. Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery of the 39th U. S. Infantry was killed as he rushed the breastworks at Horseshoe Bend March 27, 1814, and the Mississippi Territorial Legislature erected Montgomery County in his honor December 6, 1816. Fort Montgomery near Tensas, and the Post Office at Tensas known as Montgomery Hill are claimed by some as having been so called for this same officer, but this is not reconcilable as a Captain Montgomery served in one of the early regiments stationed there, and a mem-

ber of the Mississippi Territorial Legislature was prominent in his interest in that region, so it is not unlikely that this site bears the name of one of them and not the officer killed at Horseshoe Bend.

Russellville, County Seat of Franklin County, bears the name of Major William Russell, who served with Jackson in the campaign against the Indians and who was his engineer officer at the battle of New Orleans. Major Russell was a settler along the military road subsequently opened as a highway from New Orleans to Nashville. He is buried at Newburgh in Franklin County.

Benton, a former Alabama River shipping point of considerable importance but today only a small village, was named for Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who commanded the 39th U. S. Infantry Regiment in the campaign against the Indians. Benton County was established out of the Indian land cession of 1832 and named for this South Carolinian, who had moved to Tennessee and though having had early differences with Andrew Jackson, was in late life one of his warmest friends. Colonel Benton moved from Tennessee to the country west of the Mississippi which subsequently became Missouri, and represented that State in the American Union as a Senator for more than Twenty-Five years. Senator Benton held views politically in divergence to the opinions of that section of Alabama known as Benton County and in 1858 the Legislature changed the name making it Calhoun in honor of John C. Calhoun, orator and statesman from South Carolina.

David Crockett fought at Horseshoe Bend and was there wounded. He was subsequently in Congress as a Representative from Tennessee; went to the Texas Republic to aid in their struggle for independence in 1835, and with that small group defending the Alamo lost his life in 1836. On the creation of Russell County in 1832 the permanent seat of county government was fixed near the center of the County bounds, and the place called Crockettsville in honor of this unique character. This village in a few years became Crawford to honor that well known family of Georgians. Only a scattered settlement is there today.

Sam Houston, wounded at the battle of Horseshoe Bend, and later to see distinguished service in Texas, gave his name to one of the seats of government of old Franklin County. The village of Houston has long since ceased to exist.

Incidental connection with the war of 1813-14, insofar as Alabama placenames go, include Russell County honoring Gilbert Christian Russell of the Third U. S. Infantry, Butler County, named for Captain William Butler, who was killed when he led a body of Territorial militia troops in the defence of the settlers around Fort Bibb in 1818, and who had served with Floyd's Georgia troops in the war of 1813-14; Dale County, so named by the State Legislature to honor Colonel Sam Dale; Covington County, perpetuating the memory of Colonel Leonard Wailes Covington; Wilcox County named for Lieutenant James M. Wilcox, who was killed by the Indians in January 1814 while on an expedition against Cahaba town; Claiborne town, the original County Seat of Monroe County, named to honor Brigadier General Ferdinand L. Claiborne, in command of the Mississippi Territorial Militia at the beginning of the Indian uprising of 1813-14, and other local names of less importance. Greenville, County Seat of Butler County, was originally Buttsville, for a Captain in General Floyd's Georgia troops. There are probably other cases of names of places which bore the names of these men who participated in the effort to subdue the Indians in the disturbance fomented to a great extent by the British in 1811 when they sent Tecumseh from the Great Lakes region south to the Creek country to enlist the aid of the Indians against the white settlers.

INDIAN TRADING HOUSES[1]

By Act of Congress, April 18, 1796, the establishment of government trading houses was authorized.

Soon there were established fourteen trading posts among various tribes. They were established as follows: At Coleraine on the St. Mary's River, Georgia, 1795; at Tellico block house, or Hiwasee, Tennessee, 1795; at Fort St. Stephen, Alabama, 1802; at Chickasaw Bluffs, now Memphis, Tenn., 1802; Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1802; at Detroit, Michigan, 1802; at Arkansas, on the river Arkansas, 1805; at Natchitoches on Red River, Louisiana, 1805; at Belle Fontaine, at mouth of the Missouri River, 1805; at Chicago, Lake Michigan, 1805; at Sandusky, Lake Erie. 1806; on the Island of Michilimackinac, Lake Huron, Michigan, 1808; at Fort Osage, on the Missouri River, Missouri, 1808; at Fort Madison, 1808.

Detroit was discontinued in 1805, and Belle Fontaine in 1808. The post in the Creek Nation, at Coleraine, Georgia, was moved to Fort Wilkinson in 1797 with Edward Price as factor, and again to Fort Hawkins on the Okmulgee River, in 1806. It was discontinued as an official government store in 1816 and Thomas Crowell's Store at Fort Mitchell, in Russell County, Ala., received the license to sell goods to the natives.

The United States hoped by the establishment of these trading houses to create a more satisfied and friendly feeling among the Indians toward the government. It was designed to bring to them in their own territory, such supplies as would add to their domestic comfort and at a price that would undersell the private trader. For a time the policy seemed to be most successful, but the Government came more and more to see that the system was a failure. Every trading house was protected by U. S. soldiers and the factors, in most cases, thus protected, were indifferent to whether the Indians were in a friendly attitude toward him or not, while the private trader, being constantly in

[1]Thomas M. Owen: History of Alabama.

their power, became identified with the tribe which he commonly visited. Again, the Government factors, generally, carelessly allowed their stock to become inferior, and of such character as was not suited to the needs of the Indians, while the private trader carried just what they wanted.

The Choctaw Trading house in Alabama was established at Fort St. Stephen on the Tombigbee in 1802. The first factor was Joseph Chambers, who was instrumental in bringing into Alabama from Tennessee, George S. Gaines, who served as his assistant until 1807, when he succeeded Chambers as factor. The building occupied by the factor being old and inadequate, a new brick warehouse was built near the old Fort. This was probably the first brick house within the bounds of the present State of Alabama.

This trading house under the management of Mr. Gaines was highly satisfactory. He fully realized the importance of his position and the mission he had to perform and was proud of the results of his labors. The business of the trading house increased wonderfully. Not only did the Choctaws frequent the post, but also the Creeks, from the Black Warrior River, and even the Chickasaws. Mr. Gaines was careful to treat all fairly and justly. If the goods was defective or inferior, he pointed it out to the Indians and reduced the price. Consequently he won their utmost respect and confidence.

As the stream of immigration came into the State and as the white population about St. Stephen grew and multiplied, it was found advisable to move the trading house farther into the Chictaw country. George S. Gaines called on the famous Choctaw Chief, Pushmataha to advise a suitable location. He suggested the site of the old Fort Tombecbe, the Spanish Fort Confederation. Work upon the new post immediately began and on its completion in May, 1816, the post was opened to active trade with the Indians.

In October of the same year, the U. S. War Department authorized Colonel John McKee, Choctaw Agent, to arrange for a

treaty to be held at the Choctaw trading house in order that new sessions of lands might be secured from the Indians. The chiefs and commissioners spent several days discussing all sides of the question till October 24th, when the treaty was signed. By this treaty nearly all of Alabama, with the exception of the territory of the Cherokees in the lower Tennessee Valley, was open to white settlement.

John Hersey succeeded Gaines as factor in October, 1819, and served so long as the trading house existed.

The entire system of Government trading houses was abolished by act of Congress, May 6, 1822.

References.—Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (1910), pp. 376-378, 455; Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Owen's edition, 1900), p. 505; Alabama Historical Society *Transactions*, 1898-99, vol. 3, p. 230; Hamilton, *Mobile of the five flags* (1913), p. 184; Brewer, *Alabama* (1872), p. 393; U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 652; American State Papers; Indians affairs, vol. 1, pp. 684, 768, vol. 2, pp. 66, 329-331, 417, 421.

Court Jurisdiction In The Creek Indian Nation.—Prior to the land session of 1832, after the admission of the State into the Union, and although the U. S. Indian Agent, Colonel John Crowell had primary authority, within the bounds of the Nation, the State exerted in some way, civil and criminal jurisdiction. By an Act approved January 11, 1827, the limits of the county of Autauga were extended so as to embrace all that country in the Nation, lying west of the Chattahoochee river, south of the dividing line between the Creek and the Cherokee Nation, east to the Coosa River, and north of a line, beginning, at the first falls of the Coosa River, and running in a direct line to Okfuskee Old Town on the Tallapoosa River, and from thence in a direct line to the falls of the Chattahoochee River. This territory embraces all of the Creek country from a line drawn from Columbus, Ga., to Wetumpka, thence northeast to Center in Cherokee Country. The object of the act was to confer upon the circuit court of Autauga County, jurisdiction, but not to give any Creek or other

Indians any political or civil rights other than those of protection under the law. An Act making it unlawful for Indians to be "found hunting, trapping, or fishing within the settled limits of this State, or upon any lands in this state to which the Indian title has been extinguished," was passed in 1827, and provided the punishment by sale of his gun, trap, or trapping, and payment over of the proceeds to the Agent, of the Nation to which he belonged. A jail sentence was provided in case of a second offense.

Reference.—Acts of Alabama 1826-27, p. 32; Mss. data in Alabama Department of Archives and History.

WHITE MEN ASSOCIATED WITH INDIAN LIFE

BELSER, JAMES E., lawyer, representative in congress, was born December 22, 1805, in Charleston, S. C.; and died January 16, 1859, at Montgomery.

For several years he was one of the editors of the "Planter's Gazette," but later returned to the practice of law. In 1842, Gov. Fitzpatrick appointed him commissioner of the state to visit Washington City, and procure a settlement of the claims of Alabama on the general government for moneys advanced in the Indian war of 1836. He succeeded in obtaining such legislation by Congress as led to the reimbursement of the state for its expenditures.

BOWLES, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Indian Trader, was born in 1763, in Frederick County, Md., and died December 23, 1805, in Moro Castle, Havana, Cuba. He was the son of an English school teacher and the nephew of Carrington Bowles, who kept a famous print shop in London. He entered the British army at the age of fourteen; sailed with a British regiment to Jamaica in 1777; later went to Pensacola where he was dismissed from service for insubordination. He joined a company of Creek Indians; lived upon the Tallapoosa for several years; led a party of Creeks to Pensacola, in 1781, and on account of his services on this occasion was reinstated in the British Army. He went to New York where he alternately acted upon the stage and painted portraits. Lord Dunmore, governor of the Bahamas, appointed him trading agent for the Creeks and established for him a commercial house upon the Chattahoochee, but he proved unsuccessful and was ordered to leave the country. He returned and was made chief of the Creeks and became a terror to all interests against which he acted. He was taken prisoner in February, 1792, sent to Madrid; deported to Manila; obtained permission to go to Europe when he escaped and after a time returned to America renewing his relations with the Creeks. In 1803 he was betrayed into the hands of the Spaniards, carried to Havana, Cuba, where

in a short while he died in the dungeons of Moro Castle. He married the daughter of an Indian chief.

BRADFORD, DANIEL MORGAN, public official, was born September 2, 1793, near Warrenton, Fauquier County, Va., and died October 14, 1869, at Huntsville.

Gen. Bradford served in the Carroll Life Guards during the Creek War, first as lieutenant, then as captain, under Gen. Jackson at New Orleans, and was complimented, May 13, 1815, by Gen. Carroll for personal bravery during the campaign. He was located in Huntsville as a drygoods merchant for many years.

CALLER, JAMES, pioneer citizen, was born in 1758, in Virginia, and died December 3, 1819, at St. Stephens; son of James Caller, a native of England who, while serving at the age of eighteen as a shoemaker's apprentice in a seaport town, was captured by British officers and brought to America to serve against the French and Indians, escaped on the landing of the ship at Norfolk, Va., settling in the interior, married, and later removed to Warrenton, N. C. Colonel Caller removed to Alabama about 1801 and located in Washington County, later moving to Clarke. He was a man of wealth and considerable frontier influence; was senior militia officer; was one of the first representatives to the legislative councils from Washington County, and 1807 was territorial commissioner. He was one of the officers in the disasterous battle of Burnt Corn Creek, when the Americans were routed by the Indians and Spaniards.

COOPER, WILLIAM, lawyer, was born January 11, 1802, in Brunswick County, Va., and died in Tuscumbia, August 16, 1887.

In early years, he was elected a chief of the Chickasaw Indians. This was on account of professional services rendered in

defending an Indian who had killed a white man, from whom he would accept no fee. They showed appreciation of this and many other acts of kindness on his part to them by electing him chief giving him the name of "Oolisk," meaning double or four eyes, on account of his wearing glasses.

He served as bank commissioner from 1845 to 1847. Before the War of Secession he was commissioned by Gov. A. B. Moore to go to Jefferson City, Mo., at the time the seceding of the State was under consideration. He was in Jefferson City on December 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1860. History shows the decision of that State. He was also a member of the Alabama State convention; his diary of 1861 showing entry as follows: "Friday, January 11, 1861. Ordinance of secession of the State of Alabama passed the Convention this day at 2 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m. by a vote of 61 to 39."

DREISBACH, JAMES DENNY, planter and legislator, was born May 24, 1816, at Circleville, Ohio, and died in October, 1896, at Little River, Baldwin County. His parents came from Pennsylvania to Ohio on horseback, and settled in the Scioto Valley. His grandparents came from Denmark and settled in Pennsylvania. He came to Alabama about 1843 and acquired lands in Baldwin County where he engaged in farming. In 1861, he organized, and was captain of, a home guard company, which later disbanded and the members entered the regular Confederate service. In 1872-76, he was senator for the district composed of Baldwin, Monroe and Conecuh counties. In collaboration with Dr. Eugene Smith, he prepared much material on Alabama history. He was an Old Line Whig and opposed secession, but after 1865 was a Democrat; a Mason. Married: November, 1844, near Little River, to Josephine Bonaparte, daughter of David and Margaret (Dyer) Tate, of Little River, the former the son of John Tate and Sehoy McGillivray, and half-brother to William Weatherford, the Creek warrior, Margaret was the daughter of Reuben Dyer, who was one of the victims of the Fort Mims massacre. Sehoy (McGillivray) Tate was the sister of Alex-

ander McGillivray leader of the Creek Indians. All of these are buried together, near Little River, William Weatherford's home, on the land once occupied and owned by Charles H. Dreisbach, grandson of Sehoy.

FISHER, GEORGE, planter and sheriff, was born in Virginia or Rowan County, N. C., about 1735, served in the Revolutionary War as a militia officer, was a private at the battle of King's Mountain, where he was wounded, and was the owner of a large tract of land and many slaves. George Fisher removed to the Mississippi Territory, 1812, now a part of the State of Alabama, but left his family in Georgia until the Indian troubles were over.

The Fisher home was about three miles south of Suggsville, first in Clarke, then in Monroe, and again in Clarke County. He was the first sheriff of Monroe County after its formation by proclamation of Gov. David Holmes, June 29, 1815.

FORNEY, DANIEL M., public official, was born May, 1784, in Lincoln County, N. C., and died October, 1847, in Lowndes County.

He was a major in the U. S. Army during the War of 1812; was elected representative from North Carolina in the Fourteenth Congress, and was reelected to the succeeding congress, but resigned his seat in that body in 1818. He was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Creek Indians by President Monroe in 1820.

He moved to Alabama in 1834, and settled in Lowndes County, where he died thirteen years later. Last residence: Lowndes County.

GARRETT, WILLIAM HAMMOND, soldier and Indian Removal agent, was born February 22, 1819, near Hamburg, Edgefield District, S. C., and died in 1863; son of John Hammond and Mary (Hall) Garrett (q. v.). He was educated in the common schools of Cherokee County and represented that county in the house of representatives, sessions of 1843, 1844, 1845 and in the senate of 1847 and 1849. As Indian agent he was instrumental in removing the Creeks or Seminoles to the Indian Territory from Florida. In 1861 he entered the C. S. Army, receiving the commission of colonel; in 1863 while in the active service of the Confederacy, he contracted pneumonia and died soon afterward.

GERALD, PERLEY, Indian trader and merchant, was born January 27, 1800, at Long Saulte Island, N. Y., and died in Montgomery in 1866. He came to Alabama about 1829, and located first in Mobile, as a merchant, later taking as his partner, Samuel Dana Hubbard, Sr., and together they removed to Tallassee to trade with the Indians of the Creek nation. In 1836, when these Indians were removed from Alabama, they wrote to Washington, D. C., for "Their true friend" Mr. Perley Gerald to be appointed to make arrangements for their departure. This was done, and the Indians presented him with many speciments of their handicraft, as a token of their regard.

He was actively engaged along several lines of commercial pursuits. He owned and operated the Montgomery Hall, a leading hotel of the city which stood on old Market Street, now Dexter Avenue, at South Lawrence.

Hayden's Dog Charge.—An incident in the defense of Fort Sinquefield September 2, 1813. During the attack, and when everything in and out of the fort was in terror and confusion, Issac Hayden leaped upon a horse, and dashed toward the Indians, calling to the dogs in the fort, about sixty in number, encouraging them to the attack. This they did with great fury, compelling the Indians to halt and defend themselves. Pickett refers to them as "a canine army". Several of the dogs were killed, and

some wounded, but the time gained by reason of their attack, gave the women and children, who were some distance from the fort, time to reach safety.

IRWIN, WILLIAM, public official, was born in Georgia, and died in 1849; He moved to Alabama in 1819, and settled on a plantation in Henry County, near Franklin, and became owner of vast tracts of land. During the Creek War in 1836-1837, he commanded the militia of the state with the rank of major-general, and had an active part in subduing the Indians in Barbour County. When the town of Eufaula was first incorporated in 1837, it was called Irwinton in his honor. Gen. Irwin was drowned in the Chattahoochee River in 1849, between Columbus and Eufaula, by jumping from the burning steamer "Ham Smith."

NICKS, ALVIS Q., lawyer and Creek Indian adviser, was born in Lincoln County, Tenn., and died in Texas. In 1833 he came to Alabama, when a young man, and settled at Talladega where he commenced the practice of law. For some reason he attracted the notice of the Indian chiefs, became the adviser and soon attained the position of attorney for the Creek Nation. In 1834, in company with a son of Chief Opoth-le-o-ho-lo he appeared at court in Jacksonville, where he was representing the chief in some legal procedure. He was appointed by Gen. Jackson as one of the locating agents of Indian reservations of lands, and was thus engaged for sometime.

PATTESON, BENJAMIN, U. S. marshal, was born September 15, 1789, at Scottsville, Albermarle County, Va., and died September 15, 1862, at Huntsville; son of Fenton Petteson. In company with his two brothers, Thomas and Fenton Patteson, and his sister Elizabeth, he went to Nashville, Tenn., at the time when Gen. Andrew Jackson was beginning his military career.

Mr. Patteson became an intimate friend of Gen. Jackson, and with his sister accompanied Jackson to Huntsville on horseback. Gen. Jackson appointed Mr. Patteson a brigadier general on his staff. On a corner of a street in Huntsville, a large boulder stands, marking the spot where Gen. Jackson and his army of three thousand men halted at eight o'clock on the evening of October 11, 1813, after marching thirty-two miles in five hours. At that time and place Gen. Patteson distributed to each man so many grains of parched corn. After the war question was settled with the Indians, Gen. Patteson returned to Huntsville. He served later, in 1836, with the Alabama Volunteers in the Indian uprising. He was U. S. marshal for thirty-one years, and was again appointed to the position by Jefferson Davis under the Confederacy.

PITCHLYNN, JOHN, United States interpreter for the Choctaw Nation, born in South Carolina, but supposed by others in the Island of St. Thomas, about 1757. Died at Waverly in Clay County, Mississippi, in May, 1835. Nothing is known of his parents except that his father was a British commissary. He was, however, in some manner, a blood relative of the Lincecum family of Mississippi and Louisiana. About 1773 he accompanied his father on a journey from South Carolina to the Natchez settlement on the Mississippi River. While in the Choctaw Nation the elder Pitchlynn sickened and died, leaving his son alone among the Indians. Some circumstances show that this was in the Sukinatcha country, where lived the Indian countryman, Nathaniel Folsom. There is no record of young Pitchlynn's early Indian life, save that it was a hard one and that at one time he was greviously afflicted with the mange, caught by sleeping in too close proximity to the Indian dogs.

Notwithstanding all the unpleasant surroundings of his young manhood, Pitchlynn became a wealthy and influential man among the Choctaws. As was the case with others living among the Indians, he was a sympathiser with the American Revolution. After a residence of several years in the Sukinatcha

country, Pitchlynn with others moved up on Hashuqua Creek in Noxuhee county, where he lived until about 1805, when he established a home at the mouth of Oktibbeha creek in Lowndes county, at the place known as Plymouth. Pitchlynn was the United States interpreter for the Choctaws for more than forty years, serving as such at the treaty of Hopewell in 1786, at the Nashville conference in 1792, and at the treaties of 1802, 1803, 1805, 1816, 1820, 1825, and 1830, and often served at councils that were called for various purposes by the Choctaw agents. He himself once served as agent for fourteen months, during the absence of Mr. Dinsmoor. He was generally called Major Pitchlynn, but as far as known, there is no evidence that this rank was ever officially conferred upon him.

Major Pitchlynn, to make use of his usual title, ever showed himself desirous of preserving unimpaired friendly relations between the Choctaws and the United States government. In following this principle, he used all his influence in 1811 against Tecumseh, who visited the Choctaw Nation in that year for the purpose of bringing the Choctaws over into his hostile Indian confederacy. Major Pitchlynn, in like manner, was of great service in the ensuing Creek War in arraying the Choctaw warriors on the side of the Americans,—a fact gratefully acknowledged by Colonel John McKee, Choctaw agent. Even before the actual outbreak of the war he advised the raising of a few Choctaw and Chickasaw companies for the defense of the frontiers, and for the protection of the whites traveling through the Indian country.

Perhaps above everything else, Pitchlynn was a great friend of education. He not only took care to have his own children well educated, but constantly encouraged the Choctaws to send their children to the schools established by the missionaries.

Major Pitchlynn was twice married. His first wife was Rhoda, daughter of Ebenezer Folsom, an elder brother of Nathaniel Folsom. His second wife was a widow, Mrs. Sophia or Sophy Howell, a daughter of Nathaniel Folsom. She spoke no English. As seen, his wives were cousins and half-breeds. He was the father of five sons and three daughters.

By the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, Major Pitchlynn was provided with two sections of land on the Robinson road, four miles west of Columbus. "Here he built a large house, where he lived in a style befitting his position in life. According to the Choctaw census of 1831, he was the owner of fifty negro slaves, and had two hundred acres of land in cultivation. In addition to this valuable property, he dealt largely in horses and cattle. He was also joint owner with the elder Robert Jemison, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in a stage line over the Robinson road to Jackson, Mississippi, having personal supervision of that part west of Columbus. In 1834 he sold his lands on the Robinson road, and at the time of his death was living at Waverly, now in Clay county." Major Pitchlynn is described by those who knew him as a handsome man, a little above the middle size, with dark hair and eyes, but becoming somewhat bald in his latter years. He was a hospitable man and ever loyal to his friends; as Colonel Gaines states, he was a "natural gentleman." And in spite of his long residence on the borders of civilization, it can be truly said that there have been but few men that ever lived a more active and useful life than Major John Pitchlynn.

REYNOLDS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Chickasaw Indian agent, was born in 1788 in Fayette County, Ky., and died in 1843, at Newport, Franklin County. He removed to Maury County, Tenn., in 1807 and served in both branches of the legislature of that State. He was captain in the 39th regiment and was wounded in the battle of Horseshoe Bend. He assisted in burying Maj. Lemuel P. Montgomery, who fell in the first charge in that sanguinary battle. When General Jackson became President he appointed Capt. Reynolds agent for the Chickasaw Indians and in 1830 he removed to Franklin County.

SCOTT, SUTTON SELWYN, lawyer, Confederate commissioner of Indian affairs, author, was born November 26, 1829, in Huntsville; He was a member of the extra session of the legislature called by Gov. A. B. Moore about the time the

states were on the point of withdrawing from the Union. In 1861 he was a member of the committee, with E. C. Bullock, John T. Morgan, Thomas H. Watts, John O. Phelan, James H. Clanton, A. B. Meek and others, appointed by the governor to meet President-elect Jefferson Davis at West Point, Ga., and to escort him to Montgomery. From the position of an assistant, Mr. Scott was promoted, February 26, 1863, to the responsible post of commissioner of Indian affairs to succeed David Hubbard. Mr. Scott labored diligently in this position until the end of the war. On the return of peace he settled on his plantation in Russell County. He represented the county in the constitutional convention of 1875, and also in the house of representatives, 1884-1885, and 1890-1891. He was a delegate to the Cincinnati Democratic convention of 1880. In 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland a commissioner to adjudicate depredation claims in New Mexico; and during Mr. Cleveland's second term he was chairman of the commission to arrange the land troubles with the Ute Indians upon their reservation in Utah. While he was an active and capable man of affairs, Mr. Scott was in an equal degree a student and a man of fine literary and historical tastes.

STUART, JOHN, superintendent of Indian affairs, born in Scotland about 1700, died in England in 1779. He came to America with General Oglethorpe in 1735 and was appointed to a subordinate command in the British service. He was second in command in Fort London, when it was besieged by the Cherokees in August, 1760. After the surrender of the garrison and the subsequent massacre of some of its inmates, the Cherokee chief, Atakullakulla, claimed him as his prisoner. He took him into the woods, ostensibly for a hunting excursion, but he secretly carried him through the wilderness to his friends in Virginia. Early in 1763 he was appointed Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern district. In the ensuing year he sent the King's talk to the Catawbas, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Choctaws, inviting them to a congress to be held in Augusta, Georgia, with the governors of the col-

onies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The congress met there on November 5, in full session, with representatives from the five Indian nations. Stuart delivered the opening talk, representing the four governors, all of whom were present. On November 10, the congress closed with the signing of a treaty for the preservation and continuance of a firm and perfect peace between King George and the five Indian nations. In spite of this treaty there was still considerable disaffection among the Creeks and the Choctaws. Stuart's diplomacy, however, held them in check, until the complete pacification brought about by the Choctaw-Chickasaw congress, held in Mobile, March 26-April 4, 1765, and by the Creek congress held in Pensacola, May 26-June 4, 1765, in both of which he was the dominant factor. When Major Robert Farmar, in the summer of 1765, was organizing an expedition to take possession of Fort Chartres, Stuart engaged in the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees to furnish flanking parties that could act as an auxiliary force to the troops in their voyages up the Mississippi. The work of the Indians was so well done that, by the direction of General Thomas Gage, commanding in America, the three nations received the thanks of Superintendent Stuart. On October 14, 1768, Stuart concluded a treaty with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, by which Kanawha River was made the Western boundary of Virginia. He had his deputies among all the tribes of his district, their deputies it seems being apointed by himself. It was the policy of the English officials in America never to interfere in Indian inter-tribal wars, believing that when Indians were thus engaged they would be less apt to go to war against the whites, and besides the sooner the Indian tribes were decimated or swept out of existence by such wars, the greater facilities would be given to the whites to acquire their lands. Stuart avowdly followed this policy in the long Creek-Choctaw war which began in 1766. He made no effort to establish peace between the two warring tribes until the outbreak of the American Revolution made it necessary for him to unite all the tribes on the side of the King. He then made peace between the two tribes about the close of 1776. Being an ardent loyalist, Stuart now conceived a plan for crushing the revolted colonies, which was approved by the British cabinet. This was

the landing of a large force in West Florida, which in conjunction with numerous bands of Indian warriors would march against them and destroy the western settlements of the colonies, while other British troops would attack the colonies on the sea coast, and the Tories would rise in the interior,—all thus acting together would soon crush the patriots. On the discovery of the plot, followed by the defeat of the hostile Cherokees, Stuart fled to Florida, whence he soon sailed for England, where he died in 1799.

TATE, JOHN, Indian agent, was probably a Scotchman. Nothing is known of his career prior to 1778, when he was appointed agent for the Creek Indians, very probably receiving this appointment from John Stuart, General Woodward's statement that John Tate came to the Creek nation with Lachlan McGillivray seems erroneous, for if he was a grown man in 1735, the year of McGillivray's arrival, he would have been too old a man to be appointed Indian agent in 1778. Col. Tate's station in the Creek nation was at the Hickory Ground. It was doubtless soon after his appointment that he married Sehoy McGillivray, an alliance, it may be conjectured, formed through the influence or persuasion of Lochlan McGillivray. The well known David Tate of later times was the son of this marriage. In the summer of 1780, Colonel Tate raised a large force of Creek warriors from almost all the upper towns, except from the Tallissee and the Natchez, who were kept neutral through the influence of James McQueen, and started on the march to Augusta to the aid of Colonel Grierson, the British Commander. On the Chattahoochee he was reinforced by Little Prince with a force of Lower Creeks. On their march, while near the head springs of Upatoy Creek, Tate became deranged. He was brought to Cusseta, there died, and was buried on a high hill east of the town. On Tate's death, nearly all the Upper Creeks returned home except the Tuckabatchies, commanded by Efa Tustenuggee. This man and Little Prince, with their warriors, numbering about two hundred and fifty men, proceeded to Augusta, where they lost seventy men in battle in September when the place was attacked by Colonel Elijah Clarke.

After the abandonment of the siege and the retreat of the Americans, Colonel Thomas Brown, the chief in command at Augusta, after hanging a number of the prominent American prisoners, delivered the others into the hands of the Indians, who, in revenge for their slain warriors, put them to the most protracted and torturing deaths, by cuts, blows, scalpings and burnings. The opporobrium of these enormous atrocities must forever be shared by the Indians with Colonel Brown and Grierson, the white officers in command at Augusta. Some months after the death of Colonel Tate, his widow married Charles Weatherford. She was the mother of William, the celebrated leader of the Indians and who surrendered at Fort Jackson in 1814.

TROUP, MATTHEW, was born December 2, 1867, at Danville, Morgan County; son of Matthew W. and Martha W. (Collier) Troup, who resided at Danville, the former a South Carolinian who went to Danville in 1823, was a planter, represented Morgan County in the State legislature in 1841 and 1843, took part in the Creek Indian War and under the direction of the government assisted in removing the Indians from Florida, and was commanding officer in the State militia.

TUNSTALL, GEORGE BROOK, planter, editor, was born December 14, 1793, in Pittsylvania County, Va., and died July 28, 1842, at Montgomery Hill, Baldwin County; son of Edmund Savage Tunstall, a North Carolinian who died in Christian County, Ky. The Tunstall family are lineal descendants of Sir Brian Tunstall, who in 1573, was killed at the battle of Floddon Field, in the war between England and Scotland. They came from England some time in the early part of the seventeenth century and settled in the lower eastern counties of Virginia. He was a planter, and a newspaper man. He was at one time editor of the "Nashville Whig," and was the founder of the "Floridan," the first English newspaper published in Pensacola, Fla. Married: to Eloisa Tate, daughter of David Tate, for whom the shoals of the

Alabama River are named, and Eloise Randon, granddaughter of Col. John Tate who was once in the English army, and Sehoy McGillivray; great-granddaughter of Lachlin and Sehoy (Marchand) McGillivray; and great-great-granddaughter of Capt. Marchand of Ft. Toulouse and an Indian princess named Sehoy; grandmother of William Weatherford.

WILCOX, JOSEPH M., lieutenant in U. S. Army, was born in Connecticut, 1791, was killed by the Indians on the Alabama River, January 15, 1814, and buried with military honors at Ft. Claiborne, January 17, 1814; son of Gen. Joseph Wilcox, Revolutionaly soldier of Connecticut. Lt. Wilcox, trained at West Point military academy, was made 1st lieutenant January 3, 1812, assigned to the 3rd Regiment, U. S. Infantry, and sent to Ft. Claiborne, where he served under Gen. F. L. Claiborne and Col. Gilbert C. Russell until his death. Col. Russell had been sent to the Cahaba to disperse an uprising of the Indians, but became separated from Captain James E. Dinkins and his barges containing military supplies; he ordered Lieut. Wilcox and five men to take a boat and go in search of him. Unfortunately the boat upset and spoiled the ammunition and supplies, and delayed the object of his quest. A boat load of Indians, realizing his helpless condition, attacked the little party and killed or captured all, except one, who escaped into the canebrake. Lieut. Wilcox was desperately wounded, but continued the fight until overpowered and was finally brained with a tomahawk, dying soon after. This tragedy occurred on the Alabama River, between Canton and Prairie Bluff. The county of Wilcox was named in his honor.

WILLETT, MARINUS, Colonel, U. S. A., was born at Jamaica, Long Island, July 31, 1740, and died in New York City, August 4, 1830. In 1758 he served under General Abercrombie in the expedition against Ticonderoga, and then under Colonel Bradstreet in the capture of Fort Frontenac. He was one of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty in New York City which on

June 6, 1775, prevented the sending of arms from the arsenal to the British troops in Boston Harbor. He was soon after commissioned captain and served under General Richard Montgomery in the invasion of Canada. He was placed in command of St. John after its capture, where he remained until January, 1776, and soon afterwards was made colonel of the Third New York regiment. In 1777 he was second in command at Fort Stanwick, and during the siege of that place he made a sortie and gained a victory over Colonel Berry St. Leger,—a diversion which enabled General Herkimer to win the battle of Oriskany. He was with Washington's army in 1778, was present at the battle of Monmouth, and in 1779 was with General Sullivan in his expedition against the Six Nations. From 1780 to the close of the war he commanded the troops in the Mohawk Valley. In 1784 he was elected a member of the New York State Assembly, but resigned on being elected sheriff of New York City and an office which he held until 1792. In this year he was offered the rank and command of a brigadier-general in an expedition against the Northwestern Indians, but declined. In 1790 he was sent by President Washington on a mission to the Creek nation, whence he brought back with him Alexander McGillivray and other Creek chiefs and warriors, who signed the treaty of New York, the first American treaty with the Creek Indians. In 1807 he was mayor of New York. His last public service was in 1812 when he was secretary of a mass meeting in favor of military preparations against the British. His son, William Marinus Willett, collated from his father's manuscript and from other sources a work, giving his father's military career. This work, entitled "A narrative of the military actions of Colonel Marinus Willett," was published in 1831. It contains much information about the Creek Indians.

GOVERNMENT

Office of Indian Affairs.—When the War Department was created by Congress under the Act of August 7, 1789, among the duties assigned to it were those "relative to Indian Affairs". In 1824 a Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized in the War Department, with Thomas L. McKenney as its Chief. Besides receiving and examining accounts provided for the administration of the fund for the civilization of the Indians, for the examination of claims arising out of laws regulating the tribes, he had also to make recommendations to allomance or disallowance of the funds. In 1832 there was created in the War Department the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs and in 1834 an Act was passed by Congress to provide for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs. Under this enactment certain agencies were established and others abolished.

When the Department of the Interior was created by Congress in 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred thereto and hence passed from military to civil control. There are several divisions in the Bureau such as Field Work, the Land Division, Education Division, etc.

CREEK INDIAN WAR, 1836-1837[1]

The treaty of Fort Jackson of August 9, 1814 fixed the Creek Indian Nation in Alabama to comprise the territory from about Centre in Cherokee County, Southwest to Fort Jackson, thence East in a direct line from the falls of Wetumpka to the Tallapoosa River, to the mouth of Line Creek, thence up the said Creek ten miles by its meanders and Southeast to the Chattahoochee River at a point a short distance below Eufaula. The Creeks, by the treaty of 1832, ceded this territory to the United States, and agreed to remove West and occupy that section in lieu of the lands given up by them East of the Mississippi River.

Continued conflicts with the Indians had occurred subsequent to the Fort Jackson treaty; notably, the disturbance in Butler County in 1818, when the Ogley murders occurred, as well as the conflicts between Colonel Samuel Dale's forces and the Indians in what is now Butler, Escambia, and Monroe Counties. These hostilities were considerably increased by the unwillingness as the time approached to go West on the part of the natives, who had, in most cases, traded their allotments in the old Nation to land speculators for sums much less than their value.

President Andrew Jackson sent Francis Scott Key, an attorney in Washington City, well known as the author of the Star-Spangled Banner, down to Tuscaloosa, then the Capital of the State, to confer with Governor John Gayle in the Fall of 1833, after the settlers on the former Indian lands in Russell County had become so insistent that a conflict between them and United States troops from Fort Mitchell under Jeremiah Austill, United States Marshall, had resulted in the death of Hardeman Owens, one of the Russell County Commissioners.

In the Spring of 1836 conflicts occurred at the Uchee Creek bridge on the Federal Road, at Watson's in the western part of Barbour County, and at several points in the valley of the Chat-

---

[1]Peter A. Brannon

tahoochee River, and murders occurred along the Federal Road between Sandfort and Fort Bainbridge, and near Midway in the present Bullock County. Stage contractors had difficulty in delivering the mail through the Nation. Depredations were committed as far South on the Chattahoochee River as Irwinton (the present Eufaula), and the Georgia town of Roanoke in Stewart County was burned, and some of its inhabitants lost their lives. Several Alabama Militia outfits were called into service, and President Jackson sent a Brigade of Tennessee Volunteers into the Nation. Headquarters of the Alabama troops was in Russell County, while the Tennesseans occupied Camp Jordan 18 miles East of Montgomery where the Federal Road crossed Line Creek. General Winfield Scott of the United States Army came into the Nation, and was for a short time in command with headquarters at Columbus, Georgia. Subsequently, General Thomas S. Jesup, also of the United States Army, commanded the "Regulars" who were based at Fort Mitchell with Captain John Page of the Fourth United States Infantry in command of that post. Alabama's commanding officers, mustered into service for three months, were Generals William Irwin, John Moore, Benjamin Patteson, William Wellborn, and John P. Boothe. A Regiment of Observation was ordered out by Governor Clement C. Clay in March, 1836, and rendezvoused at Vernon Landing on the Alabama River, but there is no correspondence to indicate that they saw actual service. Outfits under Captain George Chisholm (the Montgomery True Blues), Captain John F. Connoley (the Selma Guards), Captain John Bonham (a Montgomery County command), an artillery outfit under command of Captain John Milton from Mobile, a company under Lieutenant David Moniac, and troops commanded by Captains Henderson, Jones, and Harrell saw service in subduing the natives.

General Jesup, in command of certain Alabama Volunteers, as well as more than 700 friendly Creeks under command of Jim Boy, left the center of disturbances in Russell County in the Summer of 1836 for Florida where many of the natives who had gone out of the Creek country in 1818, being led by Osceola and several of the former leading Indians from the Coosa and Talla-

poosa country, had continued depredations against the white settlers. The massacre of Major Dade, whose name is perpetuated in the name of Dadeville in Tallapoosa County, occurring in the Fall of 1836, was the forerunner of what is historically known as the Seminole war, actually a phase of the so-called Creek war in the Alabama country.

The most outstanding incident of the 1836 campaign was the destruction of Highlog Town in the Hatchechubbee Creek area. A notable Seminole disturbance in this area was the engagement at Hobdy's bridge on Pea River in March, 1837. The white volunteers, led by General William Wellborn, attacked the Indians on their way to Florida near the crossing over Pea River between Monticello and Louisville, and decisively defeated them.

The Legislature at its December session in 1836 made appropriations to cover the expenses and claims of the Militia which volunteered in the early days of that year, and for several sessions subsequent claims of the white settlers were made for depredations wrought by the Indians, when the Legislature memorialized Congress to pay these damages.